



ALEXANDER^r GREAT
King of Macedon.

F.H. van Houe. fec.



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THE
LIFE & DEATH
OF
Alexander
The GREAT,
KING of MACEDON.

IN TEN BOOKS,

BY

Quintus Curtius Rufus.

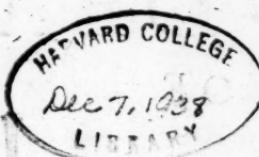
Exactly Conferred with the Original,
And purged from
Many gross Errours and Absurdities,
With which it before abounded.

Done into English by the same Hand that
Translated the last Volume of the
H O L Y C O U R T.

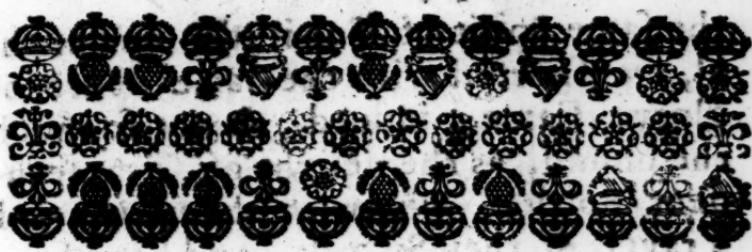
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From the library of
Theodore Attribill



To the true Lover of all good
Learning, the Right Honourable
Baptist, Viscount Cambden, Lord
Noel of Redlington, and Baron
of Elmington, &c.

My Lord,

Great Actions are the Subjects of great Wits; and no Age hath been so unhappy, but they have great Personages, if not to exceed, yet to second and protect them. But the Achievements of *Alexander the Great*, are so great in themselves, that they are rather the Subjects of our Wonder than Belief; nor can any man be a just Judge of them, who is not indued with

A the

The Epistle Dedicatory.

the same Spirit of Fortitude, and withal, transported with the same desire of glory. Fame, indeed, is not so much the bound, as the delight of Transcendent Spirits, who with the unwearied Travels of their Swords, add Kingdoms unto Kingdoms, and abstract from the number of the Nations, so add to the numbers of their Conquests. How many have we read of, who almost since the Cradle of the World, have exercised thus the Power of the Sword, and by a lamentable happiness, have made the Epitaphs of other Nations to become the best Annals of their Immortality and Fury?

But *Alexander* was as merciful as he was just; and having overcome the Nations by force, he always after, by a newer and Nobler Conquest, did both overcome and oblige them by his Bounty. By a rare felicity he had Fortune intirely in his own Power; and at last he would become the Master as much of Fame as of Fortune: He was sad to understand that his Atchievements had brought him to the utmost parts of the World; and he would have no end of his Victories, because he would have no end

The Epistle Dedicatory.

end of his Glory : Having exceeded the
Acts of Men ; he would exceed ~~even~~
Fame her self, unless she could finde
breath enough to raise him upto Heaven,
and leave him there inthron'd amgst
his gods.

And yet for all this vain attempt and
confidence, he might have slept cover'd
with the Dust of Oblivion, were he not
beholden to a better Divinity, and to
the Light of History, which have preser-
ved his Name throughout all Generati-
ons : The Prophets have done the one,
and this our Author the other ; the Pro-
phets in the Word of God, and our Au-
thor in this History : A History drawn
from the Records of Antiquity, and fa-
mous as *Ptolemy* himself, a man as admi-
rable in the Arts of Peace as of War,
who being present with *Alexander* in all
his Wars, was both his Companion and
his Kinsman : A History composed with
such Art, such State and Truth, that
Lipsius, the most Lettered, and most re-
ceived of the Criticks, hath affirmed, If
there were ever History pure and legi-
timate, it was this of *Curtius*.

It was before imperfect in *English*, and
laboured at least under a thousand Sole-
cisms ;

The Epistle Dedicatory.

cisms; I have only taken the pains to put it in a new Dress, and to prepare it for your Honours hands, to which precisely it doth devote it self, and with it, the most Elaborate Observances of him who is,

My Lord,

The most humble and most faithful of all that serve you,

Robert Codrington.

To



To the Reader in general, and especially to the Souldier.

IN these Martial Times, if any thing can excite you yet higher to Honourable Atchievements, it will be the perusal of this History, then which (if you respect either the Excellence of Alexander, or the Abilities of Curtius) you will finde nothing more Magnificent or Delightful: You will finde how Kingdoms are disposed of by the Eternal Decrees of Providence; and that when God is pleased to put a period to them, he selects men, and inspires them with Courage and Understanding answerable to that great Work unto which he hath appointed them. None but Alexander could perform what Alexander hath done; and though his course of life was so short, that he did rather destroy then erect an Empire, yet we may wonder as much at his Resolution what he undertook, as at his success in what he performed. With an inconsiderable Power, with Wicker Targets, and Swords covered with Rust, and a Stock of not above three-

To the Reader.

threescore Talents, which he himself confesseth was the strength of his Exchequer, he advanced into Asia, and in the compass of a few years, he became Master of all the East; and, at that time, of the most Flourishing and Potent Nations of the World. He never encountered any Enemy whom he overcame not, nor besieged City which he took not, nor invaded Land which he subdued not. Although the first grounds of the War were in the days of Xerxes, and his Predecessors, yet the calamity of it, and the utter ruine of the Empire, was in the days of Darius, the last and best of the Emperours. The admirable Revolution of States, and from what small beginnings great Powers do arise, is nowhere more apparently to be seen; and by the understanding of the events so long ago abroad, you may draw your Application to things more present, and at home. To add more, is to anticipate your understanding; I shall only insert, that the Author of this History, Quintus Curtius, (by his Complexion surnamed Rufus) was supposed to live in the days of Caligula: His History is full of Variety, and attended with as much Gravity as Delight, as in the perusal of

To the Reader.

it you will acknowledge with him, who
for your sakes only hath taken these pains
to review it; it being as much my Busi-
ness as Ambition, to relieve and ad-
vance your Understanding.

Codrington.



There is nothing that is absolutely
perfect; Alexander himself had a
Mole in his Face. The over-sight of the
Printer hath caused some literal faults
in the Press, which are left to your Can-
dour, either to correct, or excuse them.

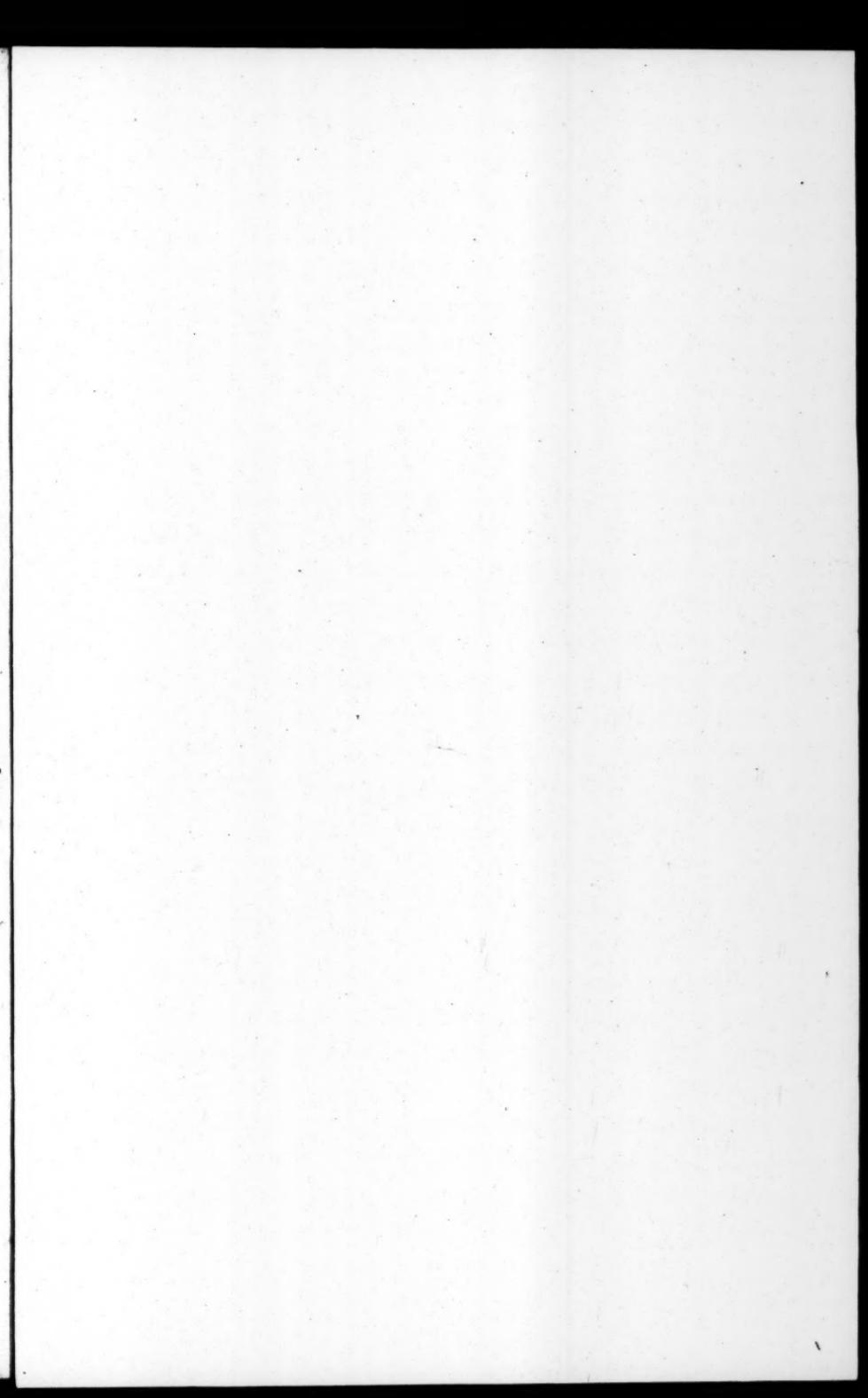


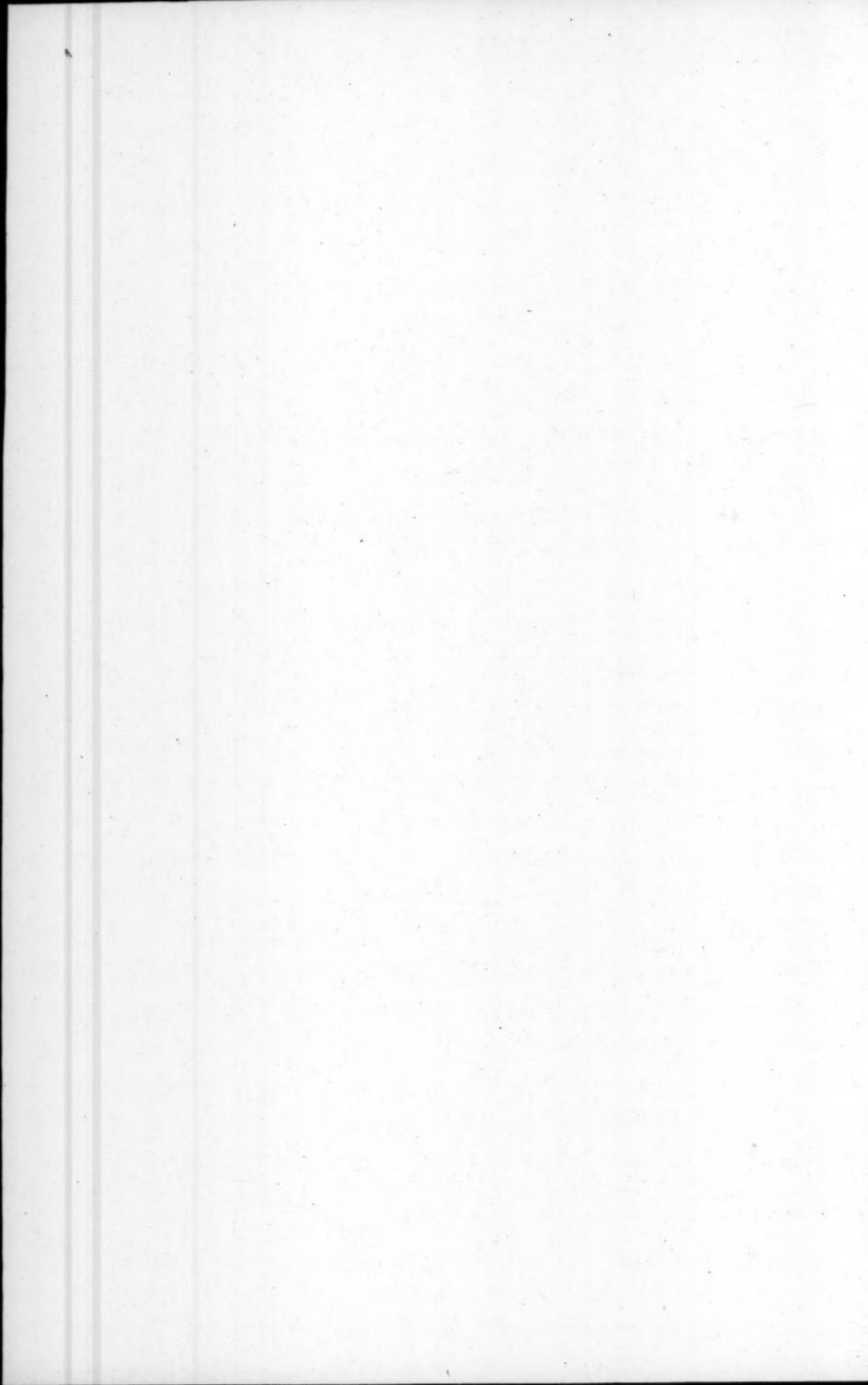


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WHereas *Samuel Speed*, Book-seller, hath lately disposed himself to a Whole-sale Trade for Books, not making any appearance of that Employment as formerly he did; These are to certifie, That those persons that please to apply themselves to him for Books, shall be as well used as by any person whatsoever: And whosoever hath any Study or Library of Books, or Copies, either in Manuscript, or such as have been already Printed, to dispose of, shall receive from him the full value thereof, to the said Parties ample satisfaction.









THE FIRST BOOK OF *QUINTUS CURTIUS.*

Concerning the Birth and Education of Alexander the Great : The Murther of his Father Philip : The Dream of his Mother Olympias, in relation to the admirable Victories which (throughout the whole course of his Wars) he afterwards atchieved.

Philip of Macedon, who by subduing of Greece, did first advance that Kingdom unto that height of power, was the Son of Amintas; a man indued with wisdom, courage, and all other vertues of a Noble Captain. This Amintas had by Euridice his Wife three Sons, Alexander, Perdicas and Philip, who was the Father of Great Alexander, and a Daughter called Eurione. The Queen Euridice being enamoured with one that had married her Daughter, conspired the death of the King her Husband, to the intent to have married with her Son-in-Law, and to make him King; which thing she had brought to effect, had not the Treason and Lasciviousness of the Mother been opportunely revealed by the Daughter. After the death of Amintas,

was, Alexander the Eldest Son enjoyed his Fathers Kingdom, who in the beginning of his Reign was so assailed on all sides, that he was driven by force to purchase Peace of the *Illyrians* with Money, and by giving his Brother *Philip* in Hostage: And afterwards, by the same Pledge, he made a like Peace with the *Thebans*, which was the occasion that *Philip* did attain to such Excellency of Knowledge and Wisdom; for by reason that he was committed to the custody of *Epaminondas*, who was a valiant Captain, and an excellent Philosopher, he was brought up in the exercise of honest Disciplines, and Princely matters, greatly profiting under a Scholar of *Pythagoras* School, whom *Epaminondas* kept in his house for the instruction of his Son. In the mean season, *Alexander* was slain by the means of *Euridice* his Mother; whose former Treason King *Amintas* her Husband had pardoned, in respect of the Children had between them, little thinking that she would afterwards have been their destruction: For when *Alexander* was dead, she caused, in like manner, her other Son *Perdicas* to be slain; which *Perdicas* left behinde him one Son, being a young Babe. About the same time, *Philip* the youngest Brother, having by good hap slipt away from his Guardian *Epaminondas*, returned into *Macedon*; and not taking upon him the Name of King, remained a great while, no otherwise, but as a Protector to his young Nephew. Nevertheless afterwards, by occasion of sundry mischiefs growing in the State, the same being such as might not well attend the Majority of the young King, *Philip* appearing to be a man of singular activity, and of no less

less skill in feats of War, then in knowledge of Philosophy, was compelled by the people to take upon him the Kingdom of *Macedon*, which as then stood in great difficulties, and danger of ruin. This was done 300 years after the building of *Rome*, and in the 105 *Olympiad*. In the beginning of his Reign he was environed with infinite troubles; for all the Neighbouring Countries (as it were by a general Conspiracy) moved War against him; and at one time sundry Nations combined together, out of sundry parts, to assail his Kingdom: Wherefore, considering that it stood him upon to move discreetly, (not being able to Match them all at once) he pacified some with fair promises, others with money, and the weakest he withheld by force. By this means he both made his Enemies afraid, and confirmed the hearts of his people, whom he found discouraged, and sore amazed. These things he wrought with great Artifice and fineness of wit, in such sort, that he diminished not any part of his Honour, Estate or Reputation; determining nevertheless, as time should serve, to deal with every one apart. His first War was with the *Athenians*, whom he overcame by Wit and Policy: And whereas it lay in his power to have put them all to the Sword, he set them all at liberty, without Ransom: By which point of Clemency, though it was but counterfeit, being done for fear of a greater War at hand, yet it procured him great Estimation and Authority. After that, he subdued the *Paeons*; and from them turned his Power against the *Illyrians*, of whom he slew many thousands, and conquered the famous City of *Larissa*. That done, he moved

War against the *Thebrians*; not for any desire of their goods, or spoil of their Country, but out of a policy, to add to his strength the force of their Cavalry, which in those days were accounted the chiefeſt in the world. This he happily effected: for being ſuddenly affailed, they were ſoon brought to ſubjection; and *Philip* joyning the force of their Horsemen unto his Footmen, he made his power invincible.

After all these things being brought to paſſ, he took to Wife *Olympia*, one of the Daughters of *Neoptolemus*, King of the *Melatti*. This Marriage was concluded by the means of *Arisba*, who had the Government of *Olympias*, and not long before had married her other Sister *Troas*. This Marriage, which he intended for his ſecurity, tyrn'd afterwards to his ſubverſion; for thinking to have made himſelf ſtrong by the affinity of *Philip*, he was at laſt by him deprived of the whole Kingdom, and ended his life miſerably in Exile. Not long after this Marriage, King *Philip* dreamed, that he ſaw an excellent Medal fastned to the Womb of his Wife; and to his ſteeming, the lively Image of a Lyon thereupon: By which Dream the Divines did interpret, that his Wife was conceived of a Childe that ſhould be of a Lyons heart and courage; which interpretation pleased him highly. Afterwards, at the attack of a City called *Metbray*, by ſhot of an Arrow he lost his right eye; whereof though the diſpleaſure was great, yet was he content, upon their ſubmiſſion, to take them to mercy. He won also the City of *Pagus*, and annexed the ſame unto his Kingdom: He invaded the Land of the *Tri-bals*,

bals, and at one instant conquered it, with all the Countries thereabout. Thus having made his Kingdom strong by subduing his Neighbours, at his return home his Wife *Olympias* was delivered of his Son *Alexander*, on the eighth of the Ides of April. Of these good fortunes the King rejoiced no less then reason was, having established his Country at home, subdued his enemies abroad, and gotten an Heir to succeed him in his Kingdom: he could have desired no more of God, if the minde of man could ever be satisfied, which the more it hath, the more it coveteth.

As Dominion increaseth, so doth also the desire to have more; which was well seen in *Philip*, that still did compass how to grow great by taking from his Neighbours; and lay always like a Spy, waiting an occasion how to catch from every man; whereunto he had an opportunity offered by the Cities of *Greece*: for whiles one did covet to subdue another, and through ambition were at strife who should be chief, by one and one, he brought them all into subjection, persuading the smaller States to move War against the greater; and to serve his purpose, contrived the ways to set them altogether by the ears. But at length, when his practises were perceived, divers Cities fearing his increasing power, confederated against him as their Common Enemy, but chiefly the *Thebans*: Nevertheless, necessity compelling, they chose him afterwards to be their Captain General against the *Lacedemonians*, and the *Peloponnesians*, who had spoiled the Temple of *Apollo*. This War he honourably achieved; so that by punishing of their sacrilege,

he got himself great Renown in all those parts. But in the end, observing both those Countries to be brought low with the War, he found means to subdue the one and the other; compelling, as well the Overcomers, as the Overcome, to be his Tributaries. Then he made a Voyage into *Cappadocia*; where killing and taking prisoners all the Princes thereabout, he reduc'd the Province to the subjection of *Macedon*. He conquered *Olimbus*, and after invaded *Tbrace*: For whereas the two Kings of that Country were at variance about the limits of their Kingdoms, and chose him to be their Arbitrator, he gladly took it upon him: But at the day appointed for the Judgment, he came not thither like a Judge with a Council, but like a Warriour with an Army; and to part the strife, expelled both Parties from their Kingdoms. By this time young *Alexander* was twelve years of Age, and began to take great delight in the feats of War, shewing most manifest signes of a Noble Heart, and an excellent apprehension. He was very swift of foot; and one day at a solemn game of Running, called *The Olympick Race*, being demanded by some of his Companions if he would run with them; Gladly, (said he) if there were Kings Sons to run with me. On another time, when certain Embassadours of the *Persians* came into *Macedon*, *Alexander*, who in his Fathers absence took upon him to entertain them; and discoursing with them of divers things, in all his communication, there not passed not from him one Childish or vain word; but he enquired of them the state of their Country, the manners of the People, the distances of the Ways, the Power of the

Book I. of Alexander the Great.

the King, and the order of his Wars , with such like : So that the Embassadours astonished thereat, esteemed the Greatness of the Father, to be much less then the Expectation of his Son ; and that his Courage was much greater then was to be looked for in one of his years. As often as Tydings came that the King his Father had conquered any strong or rich Town , or obtained any notable Victory, he never seemed greatly joyfull, but would say to his Play-Fellows , *My Father doth so many great Acts , that he will leave no occasion of any remarkable thing for us to do :* Such were his words , such was his talk : whereby it was easie to conjecture what a Man he would prove in his Age, who so began in his Youth. His delight was not set on any kinde of pleasure, or greediness of gain , but in the only exercise of Vertue , and desire of Honour : The more Authority that he received of his Father, the less he would seem to bear. And although by the great increase of his Fathers Dominion, it seemed that he should have the less occasion of Wars ; yet he did not set his delight in vain pleasure , or heaping up of treasure , but sought all the means he could to use the feats and exercises of War , coveting such a Kingdom , wherein for his Vertue and Prowess he might purchase Fame and Immortality. That hope never deceived *Alexander* , nor any other, that had either will or occasion to put the same in practise.

The Charge and Government of this young Prince was committed to sundry excellent Masters , but chiefly to the Philosopher *Aristotle* , whose Vertue, Learning and Knowledge King *Philip* so much

esteemed, that he would often say, he took no greater comfort in the birth of his Son, than that he was provided with such a Master as Aristotle, under whose Tuition he remained ten years. Many things there hapned besides, whereby it was conjectured, that Alexander should prove a man of great valour: For when his Father sent to Delphos to receive answer of the gods who should be his Successor, the Oracle delivered, That such a one should not succeed him only, but also be Lord of the World, whom Bucephalus would suffer to sit upon his Back. This Bucephalus was a passing fair Horse, fiery, and full of courage, whom Philip had bought of a Thessalian for thirteen Talents; and because of his fierceness he kept him in a Stable impaled with iron Bars: yet for all this, he remained so full of spirit, that none could approach to dress him; whereon the King was so wary, that he sought the means to be rid of the Horse. It fortuned that Alexander came one day with his Father into the Stable; What a Horse (said he) is spoiled here for want of good Horsemanship? And so coming more near, and gently clapping him, without any great difficulty he got upon his Back, and using both the Spur and the Rod to the uttermost, he ran and managed him so up and down, that the Horse seemed proud of his Rider: and having rode his fill, he brought the Horse back again. As he alighted, the King for joy embrac'd and kiss'd him, and with tears in his eyes said; O Son, seek out for some other Kingdom suitable to the greatness of thy heart, for Macedonia cannot suffice thee: So that even then the prudent Father did prelidge, that all his posses-

Book I. of Alexander the Great. 9

sions were far insufficient for his Sons heart. After this, King *Philip* determined to make War against all *Greece*; for the maintainance whereof, he thought it great advantage if he might first win *Bizantium*, a famous City on the Sea Coast. Wherefore committing the Charge and Government of his Realm to his Son, being then fifteen years of Age, he laid siege to the Town, which made him great resistance: When he had dispended all his riches and treasure about the siege, he was driven to so nartow a shift, that to furnish himself with money, he became a Pyrate, and roved on the Sea, where he took 170 Ships, the spoil whereof he divided among his Souldiers: And leait his whole Army should be detained about the siege of one City, he selected the choicest Bands of all his Souldiers, and marched into *Cheronesius*, where he took and put to sack many Towns; and because his Son *Alexander* was then about eighteen years of age, and had shewed an evident proof of his Virtue and Manhood in all his Attempts, his Father sent for him thither, to the intent, that under him he might learn and exercise all the feats belonging to a Soldier; and with him made a Voyage into *Scythia*, upon no other quarrel but to spoil the Country. Thus using the way of Merchants, with the gain of one War he did bear out the charges of another. After he brought the Country in subjection, because no riches of gold nor silver was to be gotten there, he brought from thence 20000 men, women and children, besides a great multitude of Cattel, with 20000 choice Mares to make a Race in *Macedon*. In his return he was encountried by the

Tribals,

50 *The Life and Death* Book I.

Tribals, who denied him passage , except they might have part of his Booty : Whereupon, debating of the matter, from words they fell to fighting; in which King *Philip* was so wounded in his Thigh, that through the violence of the Thrust, the Horse was run through the body ; and all men judging him to be slain, the Booty was lost.

As soon as he was recovered of his wound , his dissembled grudge against the *Athenians* burst out so far, that he made open War against them ; by reason whereof, the *Thebans* seeing the danger so near at hand , gave succour to their Neighbours ; fearing , if the *Athenians* were overcome , the last fury of the Wars would turn upon them. Wherefore the Cities that a little before were mortal Enemies one to another , combined together in one League , and sent their Embassadors through all *Greece* ; holding it most expedient, with a common Aid, to withstand a common Enemy : Some considering the peril to be universal, stuck to the *Athenians* ; and some observing *Philip*'s power increasing, and the other decreasing, took part with *Philip*. In this War, *Alexander* had the charge of one of the Wings committed to him , wherein his Noble Courage did well appear ; for he deported himself so valiantly , that he seemed nothing inferiour to his Father, nor any else , but by most just desert got the honour of the Victory ; yet he was defrauded thereof by the envy and sleight of his Father , as he himself complained afterwards. This Battel was fought at *Cheronaea* ; wherein, though the *Athenians* were the greater number , yet were they overcome by the *Macedonians* , who were the fewer, but

but expert Soldiers, by reason of their long and continual practise in Wars: Nevertheless, the *Athenians* (as men not unmindful of their former honour) lost their lives valiantly. That day made an end of all the *Grecians* glory, as well of their large Rule and Government, as of their most Ancient Freedom and Liberty; which being hardly won, and long time kept, was thus lost in a moment. For these things, and many other experiments of Valour and Prowess in young *Alexander*, although the King his Father did bear him singular affection and favour; yet nevertheless, by certain occasions ensuing, that love was unhappily broken: For *Philip* being married to *Olympias*, Mother of *Alexander* (as is said before) took to Wife, besides her, a Lady called *Cleopatra*; whereupon fell great discord and unkindness between the Father and the Son: The occasion was given by one *Attalus*, Uncle to *Cleopatra*; who being at the new Marriage exhorting the *Macedons* to make prayers to the gods, to send the King and new Queen a lawful Heir to succeed in the Kingdom of *Macedon*: Whereat *Alexander* being moved, *Vile man as thou art* (said he) *dost thou count me a Bastard?* And with that word flung the Cup at his head. The King hearing this, rose up, and with his Sword drawn ran at his Son, who by the nimbleness of his body avoided the stroke, so that it did him no harm. Hereupon, *Alexander* inveighing against him with many sharp and despiteful words departed, and went with his Mother into *Epirus*. Nevertheless, soon after, by the means of one *Demoratus a Corinthian*, who perswaded the King that this discord was

was nothing for his Honour, *Alexander* was sent for again, and much solicitation was used before they could be well reconciled: Wherefore, to confirm this Atonement, there was a Marriage made between *Alexander* the Brother of *Olympias* (whom *Philip* by the expulsion of *Arisba* had made King of *Epirus*) and *Cleopatra*, the new Queens Daughter. The Triumph of the day was remarkable, according to the State and Magnificence of such two Princes; the one bestowing his Daughter, and the other marrying a Wife. There were set forth sundry Interludes and Inventions, pleasant to behold: And as King *Philip* (between the two *Alexanders*, the one his Natural Son, the other his Son-in-law) was passing through the press without any Guard, one *Pausanias*, a young man of the Nobility of *Macedon*, when no man suspected any such thing, suddenly slew him; making the day dedicated to joy and triumph, to be heavy with lamentation. This *Pausanias*, being a Boy, one *Attalus* inforced to the unlawful use of his Body; and not content to do so himself, at another Feast he caused divers of his Familiars to abuse him likewise: which shame and villany grieved the young man so sore, that he complained to the King; whom although the foulness of the fact moved much, yet for the love he bare to *Attalus*, and for the respect of his service, he did forbear to animadvert against him. This *Attalus* was very near unto the King, and in special favour, by reason he was Kinsman unto the Queen *Cleopatra*, whom *Philip* had lately married: He was also Elected Captain General of the Kings Army prepared to pass into *Asia*, being one that was

was both valiant in his person , and no less politick in the discipline of War. Upon these respects, the King endeavoured by all the means he could to pacifie *Pansanias*, (incensed with indignation and revenge) as well by giving him great gifts, as by placing him honourably among those Gentlemen that were for the Guard of his Person. But all this could not appease the rage of his implacable anger, which wrought so in him, that he determined to be revenged , not only upon *Attalus* that did the villany, but also upon the King that would not administer Justice ; which determination he put in effect, as is said before. Many things might be said more of the doings and sayings of this *Philip* ; but one thing above all others is to be noted , that although, for the most part, he was exercised in the travel of the Wars, and in Victorious Actions , yet had he ever such affection to the Studies of Humanity and good Learning , that he both did and spake many things worthy of Memory , which were both witty and pleasant. He lived 47 years, and Reigned 25, being the three and twentieth King of the Macedons.



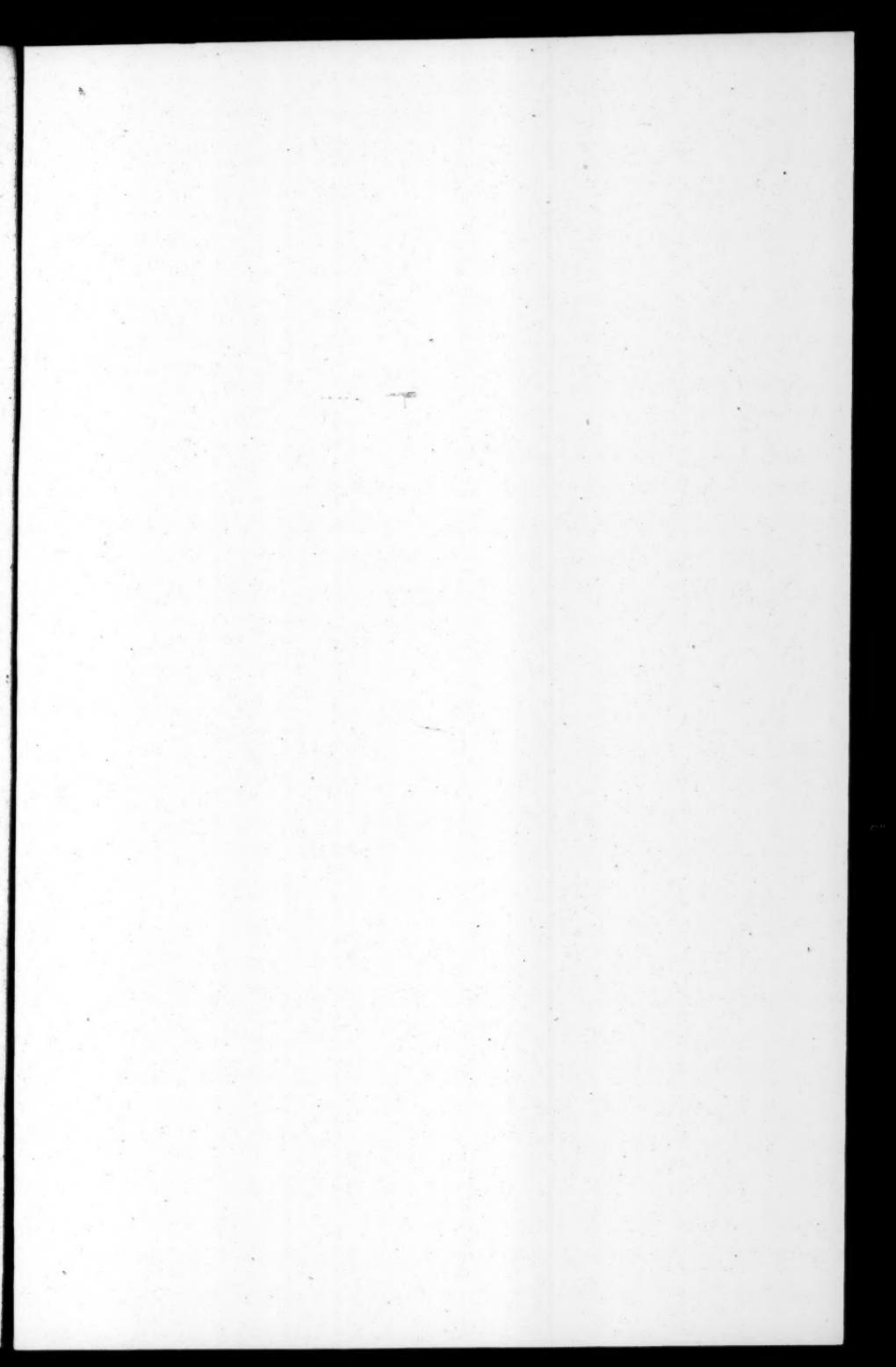
THE
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QUINTUS CURTIUS.

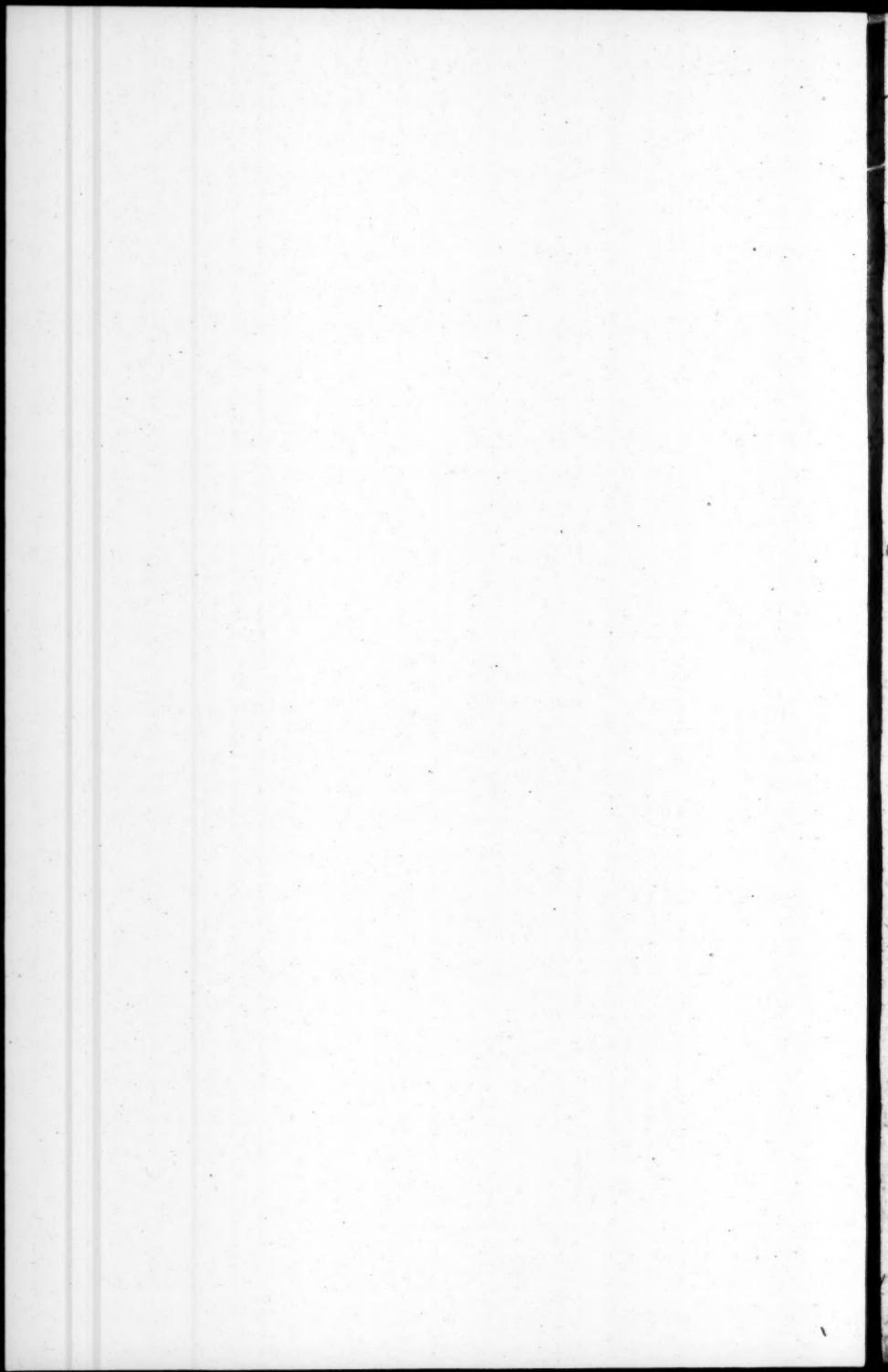
Of the Acts of Alexander the Great, King of Macedonia.

WHEN Philip was dead, his Son, who for the greatness of his Acts, was afterwards called *Alexander the Great*, took upon him the Kingdom, the 426 year after the building of *Rome*, being of the age of twenty years: His state stood at that time subject to much envy, hatred and hazard from all parts; for the Nations and Provinces, bordering upon him, could not well endure their present bondage, and every one of them sought how to recover again their ancient Dominions and Principalities. The first thing he undertook, after he was King, was the severe punishment of as many as had conspired his Fathers death; which performed, he celebrated his Funerals with great solemnity. As for his Estate, he soon established it; and that much better then any man could have imagined in one of so young and tender years: For being of some had in contempt, and by some others suspected to be cruel; towards

towards the one he deported himself so gallantly, that he took from them all contempt; and to the other so gently, that their imagined fear of his cruel disposition was clean taken away. He granted unto the *Macedons* freedom and priviledge from all Exactions and Bondage, except from the service of War: By which act, he got so great favour and love amongst his people, that all affirmed by one consent, how the Person of their King was changed, and not his Virtue; his Name was altered, but not his Government. In the beginning of his Reign, Rebellion was made against him on all sides; but immediately, with an incredible courage and constancy of minde, he appeased all the Tumults. That matter set in order, he went to *Corinth* in *Peloponnesus*; where calling a General Council of all the States of *Greece*, he was Elected Captain General against the *Perians*, who had afflicted *Greece* with many overthrows, and at that present did possess the greatest Empire in the world. His Father had designed this War before; but by the prevention of death, he brought not his intention to effect. Whilst he was in preparation for this Enterprise, he was informed how the *Athenians*, the *Thebans* and *Lacedemonians*, were revolted from him, and were Confederate with the *Perians*, by the persuasions of the Orator *Demosthenes*, who was corrupted by them with a great sum of money: For the Reformation whereof, *Alexander* so suddenly advanced with his Army, that when he came upon them, they could scarcely believe he should be present, having not received the least intelligence of his March. In his way he treated with the

the *Bessalians*, and used to them such gentle words, and apt persuasions, by putting them in remembrance of his Fathers benefit, and of the Ancient Kindred between them by their descent from *Hercules*, that by an Universal Decree of the whole Country, he was created their Gouverour, and they delivered up unto him all his Treasures and Revenues: So great was the celerity that this young man used, and his diligence so effectual, that he made all such to fear him as before were revolted, or had him in contempt. As the *Athenians* were the first that failed, so they first of all repented, extolling with praises *Alexanders* young years (which before they had despised) above the vertue of the Ancient Conquerours. They also sent Embassadours to require of him Peace, whom he sore rebuked when they came to his presence; but yet was content at length to remit their offence: And although *Demosthenes* was chosen one of the Embassadors, yet he came not in his sight; but being on his way as far as *Cytheron*, he returned again to *Athens*; which either was for fear that he had so often inveighed against *Philip*, and stirred the *Athenians* against him; or else to take away the suspition of himself from the King of *Persia*, of whom (it was said) he received a great sum of Gold to oppose the *Macedons*. The same thing was objected against him by *Aeschines* in an Oration, where he saith; For the present the Kings Gold doth bear his charges, but that cannot last him long, seeing no riches can suffice his prodigal life. When *Alexander* had pacified the Tumults that were begun in *Greece*, before he would pass his Army into *Asia*,





Asia, he made a journey against the Peons, the Tribals, and the Illyrians, because he understood they were conspiring together, and bordered upon his Country, and were accustomed to invade it upon every occasion; he thought them to be no way neglected before he removed his Army from the City of Amphipolis: He therefore marched against the Thracians, who at that time were not under the Rule or Law of any.

In ten days he came to the Mount *Hemus*, in the top whereof he found them incamped with a Power to resist his passage: Instead of Trenches, they had impaled themselves, with their Carriages, cross the Straights, purposing there to withstand him; and if they should be invaded any other way than by the Straights, they did determine to roul their Carriages down the Hill upon the Macedons, to break their array. That Device was put in execution; but the Soldiers had received before instructions by *Alexander*, as occasion should serve, either to open their array to let the Chariots and Wheels pass through them, or else to fall flat upon the ground, and by covering their bodies with their Targets, to avoid the danger: They followed their instructions; and when the Chariots were passed by, they with a great courage and shout mounted up against their Enemies, and in a moment put them to flight. When *Alexander* was passed the Mountain, he entered into the Country of the Tribals, as far as the River of *Ligeus*: When *Syrinus* King of that Land understood of his approach, he sent his Wife, and his Children, with such of his people as were not meet for the wars, into an Island

called *Penca*, scituare within the River of *Danubius*, into which Island, the *Thracians* bordering with the *Tribals*, were fled also: It was not long after that *Syrmus* himself fled thither in like manner. The rest of the *Tribals* that were not with the King, withdrawing themselves into an other Island, where they kept themselves against *Alexander*: But he by policy sought the means to draw them out of their strength, whereby he slew of them to the number of three thousand, and the rest fled away; so that of prisoners but few were taken.

After this Battel he marched towards the River of *Danubius*, to the Island whither the *Thracians* and the other *Tribals* were fled. They made notable resistance against him; which they might the better do, by reason *Alexander* wanted Boats to pass into the Island; the Banks whereof were so high and steep, that they would not be mounted on but with great difficulty, the River running violently swift, by reason that the Stream was there driven into a streight. When *Alexander* perceived the impossibility to assault them, he withdrew to another place; where getting a few Boats, in the night he passed over one thousand five hundred Horsemen, and four thousand Footmen. With that company he set upon a people called *Getes*, who stood in order of Battel, on the further side of the River, with four thousand Horsemen, and ten thousand Footmen, of purpose to stop the *Macedons* passage: But by their sudden coming over, the *Getes* were so afraid, that they did not abide the first assault.

It seemed to them a wonderful adventure, for *Alexander* in one night, without a Bridge, to pass his

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his Army over the broadest and deepest River in all Europe.

This struck such a fear and terror in their hearts, that they fled into the Woods, Mountains and Desert places, leaving their City desolate; which was taken by *Alexander*.

Syrmus King of the *Tribals*, with the *Germans*, and the other Inhabitants upon the River of *Danubius*, sent their Embassadors thither unto *Alexander*, to enter with him into friendship: and he condescending unto their requests, inquired of the *Germans* what thing it was which in the world they doubted most; thinking indeed that the terror of his name had been the most fearful thing unto them. But when they understood his meaning, they answered, *That they doubted greatly the falling of the Skie*: with whole presumptuous answer *Alexander* was nothing moved, nor further replied; only he said, *the Germans were a proud people*; and thereupon dismissed them. As he was going from thence against the *Agrians*, and the *Peans*, he was advertised, that *Clitus Bardelius* had rebelled, and had confederated with *Glaucius*, the King of the *Thaulants*. He had also intelligence, that the people of *Anteri* would give him battel in his passage: wherefore he committed to *Lagarus*, King of the *Agrians*, (who was well beloved of King *Philip*, and no less in the favour of *Alexander*) the charge to go against the *Anterians*, and promised him, upon his return, to give him his Sister *Cyna* in Marriage; and *Alexander* himself, with great celerity, marched against *Clitus* and *Glaucius*, whom in sundry battels he overcame. Whiles *Alexander* was about these things,

he received intelligence, that divers Cities in *Greece*, and specially the *Thebans*, had rebelled; which thing moved him much, and was the cause that he returned with speed to suppress these Commotions: The *Thebans*, in the mean season, besieged the Castle of *Thebes*, wherein was a Garrison of *Macedons*, and endeavoured by all means to be Masters of it: *Alexander*, by great journeys, advanced to their rescues, and encamped with his Host near to the City. Such as bare rule amongit the *Thebans*, when they saw him come contrary to their expectation, and doubting whether such aid should come to them from other Cities as was promised, began to consult how to proceed: At length, by a general consent, they determined to abide the adventure and extremity of the War.

The King in the mean season stood at a stay, giving them space to be better advised, and alter their resolution: For he was of opinion, that no one City would have made resistance against so great a Power as he had, being above 30000 Footmen, and 3000 Horsemen; all old Soldiers, and expert in the travels of War: The trust of their experience and valour had caused him to undertake the War against the *Perians*. Truly, if the *Thebans* had given place to Fortune and time, and would have required Peace, they might easily have obtained, his desire was so great to pass into *Asia* against the *Perians*. But the *Thebans* being determined to try their force, and not to make any suit, fought against the *Macedons*, far exceeding them in number, with great resolution: but whilst the Battels were joyning, the Garrison of the Castle issued out upon

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upon the *Thebans* backs; whereby being inclosed, they were vanquished, their City taken, spoiled, and utterly razed: Which extremity *Alexander* used of purpose, because he thought the rest of the *Grecians* (being afraid by their example) would be the more quiet while he should be in the Wars of *Asia*. To gratifie the *Pheoneans* and *Platæans*, his Confederates, which brought many accusations against the *Thebans*, he slew six thousand of them, and sold thirty thousand as slaves; the money thereof amounted to the sum of four hundred and forty Talents: yet he spared all the Linage of *Fidimus* the Poet; whereby he would witness unto the world, the favour he did bear unto learned men.

In this City of *Thebes* was a notable Woman, called *Timoclea*, whom when a Captain of *Ibrace* did ravish, and would have inforced her to confess her money, she brought him to a Well where (she said) all her precious Treasure was hidden, and whilst he stooped down to look into the Well, she thrust him in, and threw many great stones after him, whereby he was slain. For this Fact she being committed to Prison, and afterwards brought before *Alexander*, he asked her what she was: She answered without fear, that she was Sister to *Theagenes*, who being Elected Captain General against King *Philip* his Father, manfully died for the Liberty of *Greece*: whose stoutness and constancy the King marvelled so much, that he caused her, with her Children, to be set at liberty.

Th: *Athenius* had so great pity and compassion of the Estate of the *Thebans*, that contrary to the Commandment of *Alexander*, they received into

their City such of them as escaped ; which King *Alexander* took in such displeasure , that when they sent Embassadors the second time to demand peace , he would not grant atonement upon any other conditions , but that such Orators and Captains which had stirred them to Rebellion , should be delivered unto his hands : But at length it was so carried , that the Orators were reserved , and the Captains banished ; who straight fled to *Darius* King of *Persia*.

At such time as *Alexander* assembled the *Grecians* in *Isthmos* for the determination of his journey into *Persia* , many Orators and Philosophers came to visit him ; *Diogenes* only , that remained about *Corinth* , kept himself away , as one that esteemed *Alexander* nothing at all : whereat he marvelled much , and went himself to visit him , as he was warming of himself in the Sun. He asked *Diogenes* , if he had need of any thing that he might do for him : To whom *Diogenes* gave neither reverence nor thanks , but willed him to stand out of his Sunshine. In whose behaviour and words *Alexander* took so great delight , that turning to those that were with him , he said , *If he were not Alexander , he should wish to be Diogenes*.

When he had put in order the affairs of *Greece* , committing the Rule thereof , tog ther with the Realm of *Macedon* , to the Government of *Antipater* , whom he most trusted : In the beginning of the Spring , he marched to *Hellespont* with his whole Army , which he transported into *Asia* with incredible speed and diligence.

When they were come to the further shore , *Alexander*

ander with great force threw a Dart into the Enemies Land; and as he was armed, leaped out of the Ships with great joy, and there sacrificed; making petition unto the gods, that they would vouchsafe to admit him King of that Land. From thence he marched towards his Enemies, and forbade his Souldiers to make any spoil of the Country; persuading them to spare that which was their own, and not to deitroy that Land which they came to possess. He had not in this Army above the number of 32000 Footmen, and 5000 Horsemen, and but 180 Ships: wherefore it is hard to judge whether it be more wonderful, that he conquered the World, or that he durst attempt the conquest thereof with so small a power. To such a dangerous Enterprize, he chose not out the young men in the first flower of their Age, but the old Souldiers, of whom the most part, for their long continuance in Wars, should according to the Cuttom be set at liberty, and excused from the service of the wars, saving at their own pleasure: And there was no Captain, nor any other that did bear Office in his Army, under the age of sixty years; so that the Souldiers seemed to be School-masters of the Wars, and the Captains, for their gravity, appeared to be Senators in some Ancient Commonwealth: which was the occasion, that in the Fight none of them minded flying; but every one, confident of the Victory, did not trust to his feet, but to his hands.

Alexander, who every where made Sacrifice, did use most solemnity at *Troy*, upon *Achilles* Tomb, of whom he was descended by the Mothers side: He

judg'd him most happy of all men before him, because in such glory he died young, and had his Acts set forth by such a one as *Homer* was. From thence he passed forwards into the Dominions of *Darius*, King of *Persia*, who being the Son of *Arsanes*, and the fourteenth King after *Cyrus*, had the possession of the Monarchy of the whole *Eastern* part of the World. The chiefest cause that moved *Alexander* to invade him, was to be reveng'd of the damages and destructions wherewith the Predecessors of *Darius* had afflicted the Country of *Greece*, and also for demanding Tribute of *Philip* his Father; for the which he sent a proud and presumptuous Embassage, calling himself, *The King of Kings*, and *Kinsman of the Gods*. Lastly, he had written to *Alexander*, and called him his Vassal; and gave Commission to his Lieutenants, that they should beat that Mad Boy (the Son of *Philip*) with Rods, and afterwards bring him to his Prelence in Kings Apparel: And furthermore, that they should sink both Ships and Marriners, and convey all the Soldiers that should be left alive, beyond the *Red Seas*. They therefore purposing to execute the Kings Commandment, assemb'ed their Power at the River of *Granike*, which doth divide the Country of *Troy* from *Propontides*, having to the number of 20000 Footmen, and as many Horsemen, with whom they had taken the ground, on the other tide of the River, where *Alexander* must needs pass over; whereto when he was advertised, though he saw apparent danger in the Enterprize, to fight in the water, and the *Ouze* against his Enemies, who had the advantage of the higher Bank; yet upon a singular

singular trust to his own good Fortune, and the courage of his Souldiers, he charged upon the Enemy.

At the first he was sore encounctred, and put in great danger of repulse; but at length he vanquished and overthrew them: In doing whereof, there were neither wanted policy in himself, nor singular Manhood in his men. There was slain in that Battel of the Persians, twenty thousand Foot, and two hundred and fifty Horse; and of the Macedons but thirty four. This Victory was greatly advantagious to Alexander's designe; for thereby he won the City of *Sardis*, being the chief strength the Persians had for the Mastering of the Seas: unto which City, and to all the rest of the Country of *Lydia*, he gave liberty to live under their own Laws.

He got also under his possession the City of *Ephesus*, which, the fourth day after the Battel, was abandoned by the Garrison which *Darius* set there. In the mean season, there came Embassadours from *Magnetio*, and from the *Scallians*, proffering the delivery of their Cities. *Parmenio* was sent to them with three thousand Footmen, and two hundred Horsemen; with which Power he won *Miletum*, that made strong opposition: And marching from thence towards *Hilicarnassus*, he got all the Towns thereabouts at the first approach, and afterwards besieged *Hilicarnassus* it self; which with great travel he overcame at length, and razed it to the ground.

As *Alexander* entred into *Cariis*, *Adi*, the Queen of that Country, who had been spoiled of all her Dominions by *Orontobates*, *Darius* Lieutenant (saving

ving of one strong City called *Alinda*,) met with *Alexander*, and adopted him for her Son and Heir. He would not refuse the Name, and the proffer of her Liberality , but did restore to her again the Command of her own City : And besides , for the Memorial of her Benevolence , he put the whole Country of *Caria* under her Rule and Subjection. From thence he marched into *Licia* and *Pamphylia*; to the intent , that by getting the possession of the Sea-coasts of those Countries , he might cause the Sea-power of *Darius* to be of no effect. When he had subdued the people of *Pisidia*, he entered into *Pbrygia* , by which Country he was inforced to pass, and marched towards *Darius*, with whom he had a great desire to encounter , having understood that he was coming against him with a formidable Army.

THE



THE
THIRD BOOK
OF
QUINTUS CURTIUS.

Of the Acts of Alexander the Great, King of Macedonia.

Alexander, in the mean season, having sent Cleander to levy Recruits out of Peloponnesus, established the Countries of Licia and Pamphylia, and removed his Army to the City of Celenæ: Through this City there ran, at the same time, the River of Martia, made famous by the Poetry of Greece; whose Head springing out of the top of a high Mountain, and falling down upon a Rock beneath, makes almost deafning murmures flowing from thence, and watering the fields round about, without increase of any stream saving his own; the colour whereof being like unto the calm Sea, gave occasion to the Poets to feign how the Nymphs, for the delight they took in that River, did chuse their dwelling under that Rock: So long as it runneth within compass of the walls, it keepeth his own name; but when it cometh without, where the stream is more swift and vehement, it is then called *Lycus.*

Alexander

Alexander did enter into this Town, being forsaken of the Inhabitants; and perceiving they were fled into the Castle, which he determined to win before he departed, he first sent to summon them by an Herald, who declared, that except they would yield themselves, they should suffer the extremity of the Law of Arms. They brought the Herald into an high Tower, which was strong both by Nature and Art, willing him to consider the height and strength thereof, and to declare unto Alexander, that he had not a full dimension of the strength of the place, for they did know it to be impregnable; and if the worst should fall, yet were they ready to die in their Allegiance. Notwithstanding their words, when it came to the point, that they saw themselves besieged, and all things were scarce, they took Truce for forty days, with this Composition, *That if they were not rescued by Darius within that time, they would render it up into his hands:* Which they did afterwards at the day appointed, when they saw no Succours coming.

To that place there came Embassadors to him from *Athens*, making request, that such of their City as were taken prisoners at the Battel fought upon the River *Granike*, might be restored to them. To whom answer was made, that when the Wars of *Persia* were once brought to an end, both theirs, and all others that were *Greeks*, should be restored to their liberty.

Alexander had his present care and resolution always upon *Darius*, who he knew had not yet passed the River *Euphrates*: He assembled therefore all his Powers together, purposing to adventure the hazard

of the Battel. The Country was called *Pbrygia*, that he passed through ; plentiful of Villages , but scarce of Cities : yet there was one of great Antiquity, called *Gordiam*, the Royal Seat sometime of King *Mydas*. The River of *Sangaray* doth run through it , and it standeth in the mid-way betwixt the Seas of *Pontus* and *Cilicia* , being judged to be the narrowest part of *Asia* , by reason of the Seas which lye on both sides , representing the form of an Island ; and if it were not for a small point of Land that doth lye betwixt those Seas, they would joyn both together. *Alexander* having brought this City under his obeylance , entred into the Temple of *Jupiter*, where he saw the Chariot wherein *Mydas*, the Builder of the City , was accustomed to ride : The same , in the furniture and outward appearance , differed little from other common Chariots ; but there was in it a thing notable , which was a Cord folded and knit with many knots , one so intricate within another, that no man could perceive the manner of it , neither where the knots began, nor where they ended : Hereupon the Country men had a Prophecy , That he should be Lord of all *Asia* , that could undo that endless Knot. This possest the King with a marvellous desire to become the fulfiller of the Prophecy : there stood a great number about him, both of *Pbrygians*, and of *Macedons* , the one part of them expecting the event, and the other fearing the rash presumption of their King , for as much as they could perceive by no reason how the Knot should be undone : The King himself also doubting , that the failing of his purpose in that matter , might be taken as a token of

his

his evil Fortune to come , after he had considered the thing , *What is the matter* (quoth he) *which way it be undone?* and striving no longer how to unknit it, he with his Sword cut the Cords asunder; thereby either illuding, or else fulfilling the effect of the Prophecy.

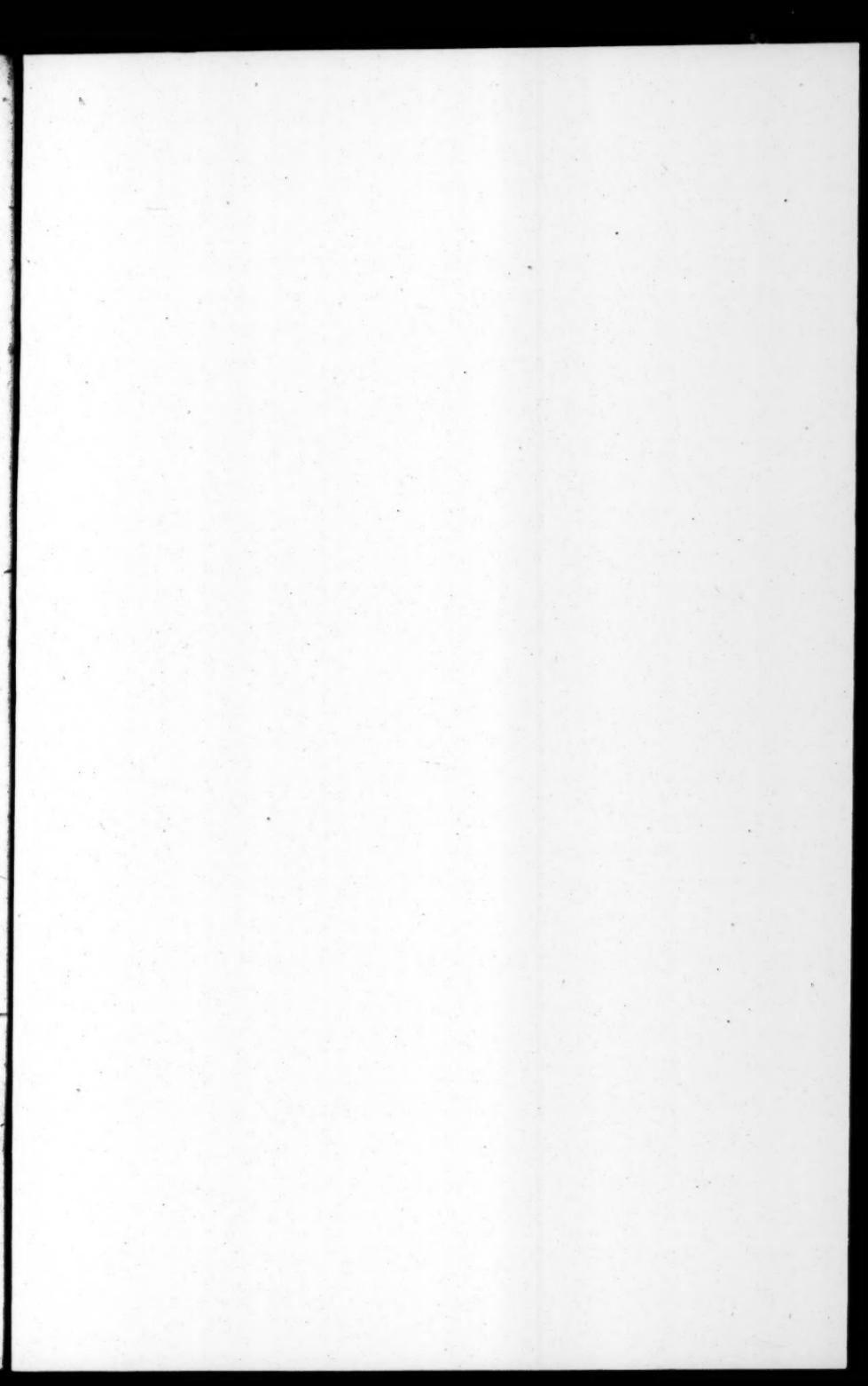
This being done , *Alexander* purposed to finde out *Darius* wheresoever he went ; and to the intent to leave all things clear behinde his back , he made *Amphiborus* Captain of his Navy upon the Coast of *Hellespont* , committing the charge of the Field-Army to *Egilochus* : They two had Commission to deliver the Islands of *Lesbos*, *Scios* and *Coos*, from the hands of the *Perians* ; and for the provision of their charges, had appointed to them fifty Talents, and sent to *Antipater* , and such others who had the Governance of the Cities of *Greece* , sixty Talents : He gave order , that such as were his Confederates, should with their own power of Ships defend the Seas of *Hellespont* , according to the League betwixt them. It was not yet come to his knowledge that *Memnon* was dead, whom he most suspected ; well knowing, that if he moved not against him, no man should be his stop before he came to *Darius*.

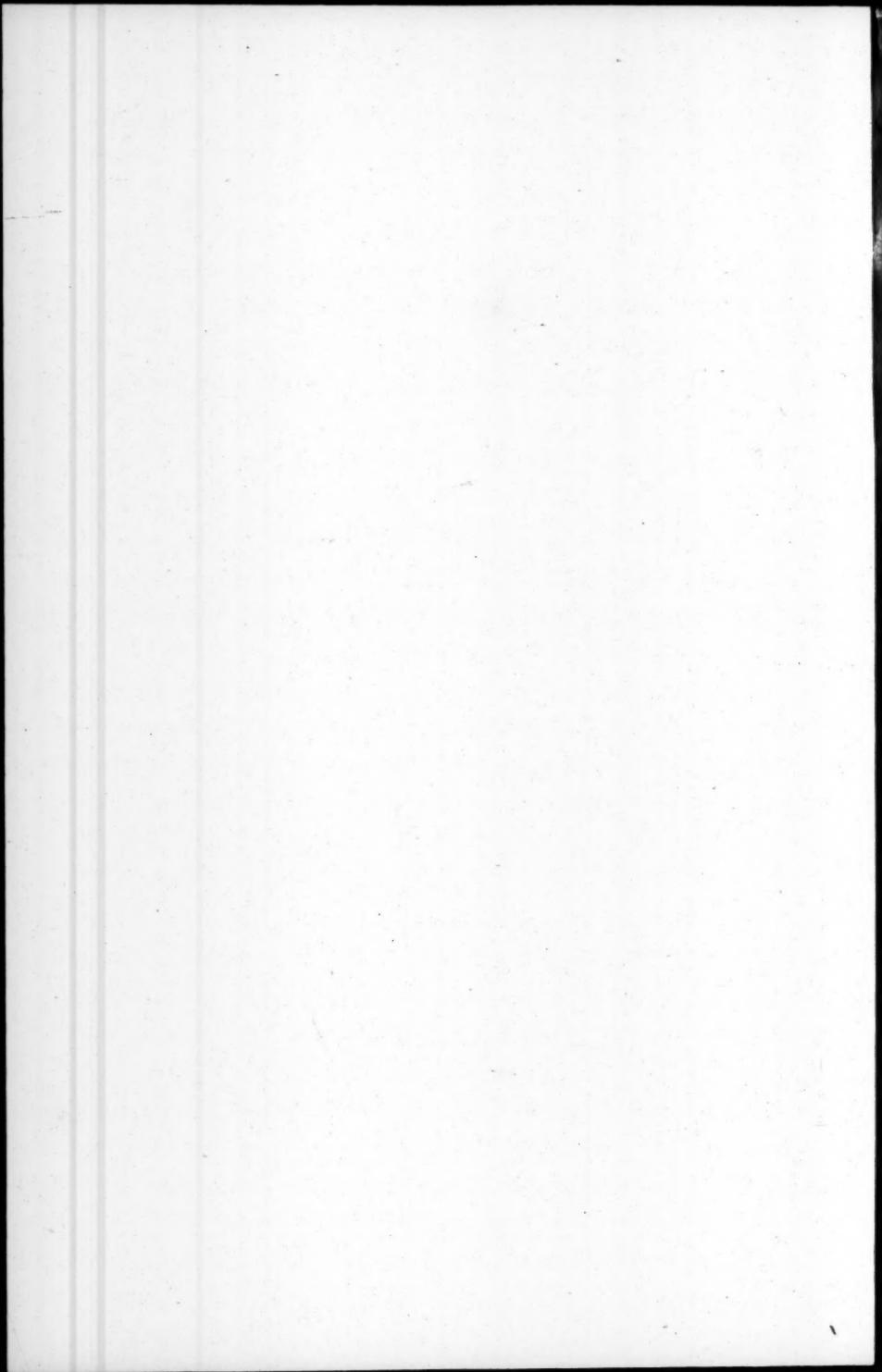
Alexander came to the City of *Ancira* , where he made his Musters , and so entred into *Paphlagonia* , whereunto the *Grecians* border , of whom it is said the *Veneti* in *Germany* are descended ; all this Country submitted to him, and gave him Pledge , being excused from Tribute , seeing they never paid any to the *Perians*. *Calas* was Captain there , who taking with him the Band of Souldiers that were lately

lately come out of *Macedon*, marched into *Cappadocia*: but *Darius* hearing of the death of *Memnon*, was no less moved therewith then the case required; for then all other hope set apart, he determined to try the matter in person; for he condemned all things that had been done by his Deputies, believing Courage and Conduct to be wanting in many of them, and that Fortune had failed in them all: He came therefore to *Babylon*, where he encamped, and assembled all his Forces together in sight of the City, because he would shew the greater Courses and using the ensample of *Xerxes* in taking of his Musters, he entrenched so much ground about, as was able to receive ten thousand men, within the which he lodged in the night such as had been mustered in the day, and from thence they were bestowed abroad in the plain Country of *Mesopotamia*. The number of his Horsemen and Footmen were innumerable, and they yet seemed in sight to be more then they were. There were of the *Persians* an hundred thousand, of whom thirty thousand were Horsemen; of the *Medians*, ten thousand Horsemen, and thirty thousand Footmen; of the *Bactrians*, two thousand Horsemen with broad Swords and light Bucklers, and ten thousand Footmen with like weapons: There were of the *Armenians* forty thousand Footmen, and seven thousand Horsemen: The *Hircanians*, of great estimation amongst those Nations, had six thousand Horsemen: The *Dervicens* were forty thousand Footmen, armed with Pikes, whereof part had no heads of Iron, but the points of them dried in the fire: There were also of the same Nation two thousand

sand Horsemen. There came from the *Cissian Sea* eight thousand Footmen, and two hundred Horsemen: And with them of the rude Nations of *Asia*, two thousand Footmen, and four thousand Horsemen. To the increase of these numbers, there were thirty thousand Mercenary Souldiers that were *Greeks*: Haste would not suffer to call for the *Ara-chosians*, *Sogdians* and *Indians*; with others the Inhabitants of the *Red Sea*, Nations which had names scarcely known to their own King. Thus *Darius* wanting nothing les then the multitude of men, greatly rejoyned to behold them; and puffed up with the vanity and flattery of the great men which were about him, turned to *Charidemus* of *Athens*, an expert Man of War (who for the displeasure that *Alexander* did bear him, was banished the Country) and asked him, if he thought not that company sufficient to overthrow the *Macedons*? Whereat *Charidemus*, without respect of the Kings pride, or of his own Estate, answered; Peradventure, Sir, you will not be content to hear the truth; and except I tell it presently, it shall be too late hereafter: This great preparation, and mighty Army of yours, gathered of the multitudes of so many Nations, raised up from all parts of the Orient, is more fearful to the Inhabiters hereabouts, then terrible to your Enemies: Your men shine in Colours, and glitter in Armour of Gold, exceeding so much in riches, that they which have not seen them with their eyes, cannot conceive any such thing in their mindes: But contrariwise, the *Macedons* being rough Souldiers, without any such excess, be terrible to behold: The Fronts of their

Battels





Battels stand close together, always in strength, furnished with Pikes and Targets for defence : That which they call the *Phalanx*, is an immoveable square of Foot, wherein every Band stand close to each other , joyning weapon to weapon : Every Souldier is obedient to that which is commanded, ready at his Captains call, whether it be to follow his Ensigne, to keep his Array, to stand still, to run , to fetch a compass, to change the order of the Battel, to fight on this side, or that side ; every Souldier can do these things as well as the Captains : And because you shall not think Gold and Silver to be so effectual to this matter , they began and observed this Discipline, Poverty being Master : when they be weary, the ground is their bed ; they are satisfied with such meat as they finde by chance ; and they measure not their sleep by the length of the night. Think you the Horsemen of *Thessaly*, the *Achaeans* and *Ætolians*, which be invincible Men of War, will be repulsed with Slings or Staves burned in the fire ? It behoveth you to have like Force to oppose, and to be served of the same condition of men : My counsel is therefore, that you send this Gold and Silver to levy Souldiers out of those Countries from whence they come.

Darius was a man of a milde and tractable disposition, if the height of his Estate had not altered the goodness of his Nature ; which made him so impatient to hear the truth, that he commanded *Charidemus* to be put straightways to death , being a man that was fled to his protection, and that had given him right profitable counsel : When he was going towards his death, he left not his liberty to

speak, but said, *There is one at hand that shall revenge my death; for he against whom I have given thee counsel, shall punish thee for not following my advice: And thou being thus altered with the liberties thou hast, being now a King, shalt be an example to such as shall come after; that when they commit themselves to Fortune, they clearly forget their names.* Whilst *Charidemus* was speaking of these words, they which had the charge committed unto them, did put him to death; whereof the King afterwards took over-late repentance, confessing him to have spoken the truth, and caused him to be buried. There was one *Thymones*, the Son of *Menter*, a young man of great activity, to whom *Darius* gave the charge of all the Foreign Souldiers, (in whom he had great confidence) willing him to receive them at *Pharnabasus* hands; and gave to *Pharnabasus* the Rule that *Mennon* had before.

Thus *Darius* being careful of the great businesse he had in hand, whether it were through pensiveness of minde, or that his fancy did divine things to come, was continually troubled with Visions in his sleep: He dreamed that the *Macedons* Camp was on fire; and shortly after it seemed to him that *Alexander* was brought to his presence in such kinde of apparel as he himself did wear when he was first chosen King; and that *Alexander* should be carried on Horse-back through Babylon, and so vanish out of sight. Hereupon the Interpreters of Dreams betokened good fortune to himself, because of the fire that seemed to be in his Enemies Camp, and for that *Alexander*, without any vesture of a King, appeared in the vulgar apparel of the *Perians*. Others did

did interpret it otherwise, that the Lightning in the *Macedons* Camp, signified glory and victory to *Alexander*, and also the enjoyment of the Empire of *Asia*; which they made more clear, forasmuch as *Alexander* appeared in the same Vesture that *Darius* did wear when he was chosen King. Care besides, and anxiety of minde (as often chanceth) brought things past again to remembrance.

It was rehearsed how *Darius* in the beginning of his Reign, changed the Scabbard of his Sword from the *Persian* manner, into the fashion that the *Greeks* used; whereupon the *Caldees* did prognosticate, that the Kingdom of the *Persians* should be translated to those whose fashion he had counterfeited: Notwithstanding, being glad of the interpretation of the Diviners, which was every where published concerning his success, and of the Vision that he seemed to have seen in his sleep, he commanded his Army to march forwards towards the River of *Euphrates*. It was the Ancient Custom amongst the *Perians*, at Sun-rising, to raise their Camp, and a warning of their setting forwards, to be by the sound of a Trumpet at the Kings Pavilion, upon which there stood the Image of the Sun inclosed in Chrystal, shining so bright, that it might be seen thowout the Camp: The order of their marching, was in this manner; the Fire, which they call Holy and Eternal, was carried before on silver Altars; next to them were the Diviners, singing after their Country manner; there followed three hundred sixty five young men in Scarlet Robes, like in number unto the days of the year; then came the Chariot consecrated to *Jupiter*, drawn with white Hor-

ses, and a great Horse following, which they call *The Horse of the Sun*: Such as did ride upon the Palireys, did wear white Garments, bearing Rods of Gold in their hands. Next in order came ten Chariots, garnished and wrought with silver and gold: The Horsemen of twelve Nations followed in sundry sorts of Armour; then came a Company that the *Perians* called *Immortal*, the riches of whose Apparel exceeded far the rest, they had all Chains of Gold, Coats embroidered with Gold, and Sleeves set with Pearl: These were followed, within a small distance, by a Band of fifteen thousand Souldiers, called *Doripherii*, reputed for the Kings Kinsmen, and apparelled almost like Women; more notable for the variety of the riches of their Garments, than the Armour they did wear. Such as were wont to receyve the Kings Robes, did ride next before the Chariot, upon the which *Darius* did sit on high, with great pomp and magnitinance, his Chariot being garnished on both sides with carved Images of their gods, made of silver and gold; the beams whereof were set with Pearls and precious Stones, with two Images of Gold standing thereupon, of a cubit length, one opposite to the other; and over their heads an Eagle of Gold displayed: But amongst the rest, the Kings Apparel seemed marvellously sumptuous, which was of Purple empaled white, with a Border imbroidered of Gold, and Golden Faulcons, so wrought, as if they were fighting together. He was girt Effeminately with a Girdle of Gold, and the Sword that hung thereupon had a Scabbard of Pearl: the Diadem which he did wear upon his head, called by the *Perians* *Cydaris*, had a Roll

Roll about it of white and green. Next behinde the King came ten thousand Horsemen, who had all their Spears plated with silver, and their Spearheads guilded. He was inclosed on both sides with two hundred of the Blood Royal; at whose backs there followed thirty thousand Footmen, and after them four hundred of the Kings Courser. Within the distance of one furlong, *Sygambis*, the Mother of *Darius*, was carried in one Chariot, and his Wife in another, the Train of their Women riding on Horseback. Next to them went fifteen Chariots, wherein the Kings Children were carried, and their Nurses, and their Eunuchs, which are greatly esteemed in that Country: After them followed three hundred of the Kings Concubines, all apparelled like Queens: Then came six hundred Mules, and three hundred Camels that carried the Kings Treasure, guarded with a Band of Archers. The Wives of the Kings Kinsmen, and the other that were about the King, came riding next; and after them a great company of Slaves and Varlets. Last, came the Rereward lightly armed, wherof every Captain severally with his own Company closed the Army; such was the Order of *Darim* Host.

But on the other side, beholding *Alexanders* Army, there was to be seen a great difference; neither the Men nor the Horse glistened so with gold and precious Furnitures, but only with the brigtness of their Harnets: They were obedient to their Captains Command, always in a readiness to stay, or to advance; neither oppressed with the multitude, nor pestered with too much Baggage: They wanted not in any place, either ground for their encamping, or

victuals for their feeding, whereby their small number was always sufficient when they came to fight : Whereas *Darius*, the Lord of so huge a multitude, through the straitness of the ground wherein he was driven to give battel, was compelled to use the fewness of men, which he before had despised in the Enemy. *Alexander* appointed to *Abijamines* the rule of *Cappadocia*; and marching with his Army towards *Cilicia*, came to the place called *Cyrus Camp*, because *Cyrus* lodged there when he passed into *Lycia* against King *Cræsus*. This place was distant about fifty furlongs from the *Streight* entring into *Cilicia*: The Country-men use to call those *Streights Pyle*, where the natural scituatiōn of the place had made a Fortification, as it were with mans hands. When *Arsenes*, Governour of *Cilicia*, understood of *Alexanders* coming, rememb'ring what *Memnon* perswaded in the beginning of the Wars, he put it in execution when it was too late, wasting and destroying throughout *Cilicia* all such things as he thought might stand his Enemy in stead, leaving the Country waste which he was not able to defend : whereas it had been much better to have taken the *Streight* before his Enemies, where from the Hills lying over the way, he might without hazard have hindred his entry, or have distressed his passage : But he leaving a small number for the defence of the *Streight*, retired himself back to waste the Country, which his part had been to defend from destruction. By his departure it came to pass, that such as he left behinde, thinking themselves betrayed, would not so much as abide the sight of their Enemies, when a much less number had been sufficient

ficient to have kept the passage; for the scituacion of *Cilicia* is such, that it is environed about with a continual rough and steep Mountain, which rising from the Sea on the one side, and fetching a compass about, joyneth again with the Sea on the other side. Though the part of the Mountain which lyeth furthest from the Sea, is plain and full of Rivers, amongst the which two are most famous, *Pyramus* and *Cydnus*, but *Cydnus* most especial, not so much for its greatness, as the clearness of the water, which from his first Spring runneth clearly through all the Country, and hath no other River running into him to disturb the purenes of the stream; for which cause it remaineth always clear and cold, by reason of the Woods that do shidow all the banks. Time hath consumed many Antiquities within that Country, which are remembred of the Poets: There may yet be seen the foundations of the Cities of *Lirnessus* and *Cebestus*, with the Cave and Grove *Corycian*, where *Saffron* groweth, with many other things, whereof now remaineth but only their name.

When *Alexander* entred the *Streights* before mentioned, and beheld the scituacion of them, he never in all his life marveled more at his own felicity; confessing, that it had not been possible for him to have passed, if any had stood at defence against him; for that with stones only he might have been overwhelmed; the *Streight* besides being so narrow, that there could not pass above four in front: to the increase of which difficulty, the tops of the Mountains hung over the way, which in many places was broken and hollow with the streams that ran

down from the Hills. *Alexander* sent the *Thracians* that were light armed, to scour and discover the ways, for fear the Enemies should lie there in ambush, and suddenly break forth upon him : He appointed also a Band of Archers to take the top of the Hill ; which were willed so to march, that they might be always in a readiness to fight. After this manner he came to the City of *Tarsus*, which was set on fire by the *Perians*, because *Alexander* should finde no harbour there : but *Parmenio* was sent thither with a choice number of Horsemen to quench the fire ; who understanding that the Enemies were fled away at the news of their coming, entered into the City, and by that means saved it from burning.

The River of *Cydnus*, spoken of before, did run through this City, where the King arrived about mid-day, it being in the Summer season, at what time the heat is no where more violent then in that Country : He took such delight in the pleasantness of the water, that he would needs bathe his body therein, to wash away the sweat and dust thereof ; and being very hot, he entred naked into the water, in the sight of all his Souldiers, thinking it should be a contention to them, to see that the Garments about his body were no other but such as they commonly used themselves to wear.

He was no sooner entred, but all the parts of his body began to shake and tremble, his face waxed pale, and the lively heat was mortified in all parts of his body ; his Servants took him up, and carried him into his Tent as one besides himself, and at the extreme point of death : then there was a great desolation and heaviness in the Camp ; they wept, lamented

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mented and bewailed, that such a King, so Noble a Captain, as had not been seen in any Age, should be thus taken from them in the height of his Enterprise, and after such a manner ; not in Battel slain by his Enemies, but bathing in a River. It grieved them, that *Darius* now being at hand, should obtain the Victory by such a chance, without seeing of his Enemy ; and that they should be enforced to return back again, as men vanquished, by those Countries through which they had passed before as Conquerours ; in which Countries all things being destroyed by themselves, or by their Enemies, they must of necessity die for hunger, though no man should pursue them. It became a question amongst themselves, who should be their Captain in flying away ? or what he were that durst succeed *Alexander* ? and though they might safely arrive at the Sea of *Hellespont*, yet who should prepare them passage there ? When they had disputed these questions, their argument, by and by, was turned into compassion towards their Prince ; lamenting, as men out of their wits, that such a Flower of Youth, such force of courage as was in him, that their King and Companion in Arms, should after this manner be plucked from them.

In the mean season, *Alexander* began to draw his winde somewhat better, and when it came unto himself, he lifted up his eyes, and began to know his friends that were about him : That the vehemency of his sickness somewhat asswaged, was perceived, in that he began to understand the peril he was in : But the solicitousness of his minde was a great hinderance unto his health, for tidings came, that

that *Darius* within five days would be in *Cilicia*: He could not but take it grievously, that such a Victory should be plucked out of his hands through his infirmity, and that he should be taken as one tyed in Fetteres, and be put to some shameful and vile death. He called therefore to him both his Friends and Physitians, and said unto them, *Ye see in what an extremity of condition Fortune hath surprized me; methinks the noyse of mine Enemies doth ring in mine ears, and I who moved first the War, am now challenged, and provoked to the Fight.* When *Darius* did write to me such proud Letters, he was not ignorant of mine Estate; yet peradventure he shall be deceived, if I may use mine own minde in recovery of mine own health. My case requireth no slack Medicines, nor slow Physitians; I had rather die stonily once, then to consume long time in my recovery: wherefore if there be any hope or cunning in Physsick, let it be now seen; and think that I seek not remedy so much for mine own life, as I do for the care I have to encounter with mine enemies.

When they heard him speak these words, they were in great doubt of his sudden rashnes; and therefore every one particularly did desire him, that he would not increase his peril through any passion, but suffer himself to be ordered by the advice of his Physitians: For they alledged, that unapproved Remedies were not suspected of them without cause, seeing his Enemy had gone about to corrupt such as were about him, by promising a thousand Talents to his Killer; they thought no man would be so bold to make any experience of Physsick upon him, which for the want of tryal thereof might in any wise

wise give cause of suspition. There was amongst the excellent Physitians that came with *Alexander* out of *Macedon*, one *Philip* of *Acarnam*, who was preferred to him for preservation of his health, and had faithfully served him from his Childhood, and therefore loved him with entire affection: He promised to provide for the King an approved Remedy, but such a one as would work vehemently; but by the drinking thercof he doubted not (he said) but to expulse the force of his disease. That promise pleased no man, but only him who in the proof thereof should abide the peril; for he could abide all things better then delay: *Darius*, and his power, were always in his eye; and he had an assured confidence that the Victory should fall on his side, if he might be able to stand in the sight of his men: the thing that only grieved him was, that the Physitian would not minister before the third day. In the mean season, *Parmenio*, whom of all his Nobility he trusted most, had exhorted him by his Letter, that he should not commit himself to the cure of *Philip*, for that he was corrupted by *Darius* with a thousand Talents, and the promise of his Sister in Marriage. Those Letters brought the King into great jealoutrie, and moved him to consider secretly with himself all those things that either fear or hope could put into his fancy. Shall I adventure (thought he) to drink this Medicine? What if it be poyon? Shall I not then be accounted the cause of mine own death? Shall I suspect the fidelity of my Physitian? or shall I suffer mine Enemy to kill me in my bed? yet were it better for me to perish by other mens Treason, then thus to die through mine own faint heart. His
minde

minde being thus diversly perplexed, he would shew the Contents of the Letter to no man, but sealed it with his own Ring, and laid it underneath his Pillow. Two days were passed in these imaginations, and the third day the Physitian came to his Beds-side with the Medicine ready made: When the King saw him, he raised himself upon his Ebow; and taking the Letter in his left hand, with the other hand took the Cup, and straightway supped it off: when he had so done, he delivered the Letter to *Philip* to read; and whilest he was reading, he beheld him continually in the face; supposing, that if he had been faulty, some token would have appeared in his countenance. When *Philip* had read the Letter, he shewed more tokens of displeasentness then of fear; and therewithal fell down upon his knees, and said; *Sir, I see my life doth depend upon your health; but your Recovery shall declare, that I am falsely charged with this Treason; therefore when by my means you shall get your health, I trust you will not then deny me my life: In the mean season lay fear aside, and suffer the Physick to work, and to have its operation; keep your minde quiet, and suffer not your self to be troubled with the superstitious carefulness of your friends; which though it proceedeth of good will, is notwithstanding a great impediment unto your health.*

His words not only satisfied the King, but made him to conceive perfect hope of his recovery; and said unto *Philip*, *If the gods would have granted thee to advise with thy self of a way to prove the confidence I have in thee, and the good will I bear thee, thou couldest never have chosen so good a one as this;* for

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for notwithstanding the Letter, I drank off the Physick, believing thee to be no less careful for declaration of thine own truth, then for my health ; and therewith gave him his hand : Yet afterwards, when the Medicine began to work , it was such in operation, that it seemed to verifie *Parmenio* his accusation ; for he fainted oft, and had much labour to draw his breath. Then *Philip* left nothing unproved, or undone, that might serve for his purpose : he laid warm cloaths to his body ; and always as he fainted, revived him again with sweet savours : and when he perceived him once come to himself , he ceased not to feed him with discourse ; and one while put him in remembrance of his Mother and Sisters, another while of the great Victory that was at hand.

When the power of the Physick once entred into his veins, there appeared straight in all parts of his body manifest tokens of health ; First quickness came to the Spirits, and afterwards the body recovered his strength a great deal sooner then any man looked for : For after the third day that he had been in this sad condition , he walked in the sight of the Souldiers , who wonderfully rejoyned to see him : And they shewed no less affection unto *Philip*, whom every one severally imbraced, and gave him thanks, as if he had been a God. It cannot be expressed , besides that Natural Veneration that *Macedons* use to bear unto their Prince , in what Reverence they especially had *Alexander* , and how fervently they loved him : They had conceived of him an Opinion , that he could enterprise nothing, but that it was furthered by the Divine Assistance ; and

Fortune

Fortune was so favourable unto him, that his rashness was always an increase of his glory: his age being scarcely ripe, and yet sufficient for so great things, did marvellously set forth all his doings; and many things, which out of the Wars would be counted lightness, were most acceptable to the Soldiers; as the exercising of his body amongst them, his apparel not differing from the common sort; with his courage and forwardness in the Field: which gifts given him by Nature, and some things besides done of policy, did get him both the love and reverence of his people.

When *Darius* heard of *Alexander's* sickness, he marched towards *Euphrates*, with all the haste he could make in the conveyance of so multitudinous an Army: He made there a Bridge, and in fifteen days passed over it, his people having a great desire to get into *Cilicia* before his Enemy. *Alexander* had recovered his strength, and was come to a City called *Solos*, which the Inhabitants yielded unto him, and for two hundred Talents obtained assurance: Notwithstanding he put a Garrison into the Castle, and there celebrated Plays and Triumphs which he had vowed to *Aesculapius* and *Minerva*, for the recovery of his health; where being so quietly given to his Sport, he shewed how little he esteemed the coming of his Enemies. Whilst *Alexander* was busied about these things, he received pleasant news, how his men won a Battel against the Persians at *Halicarnassus*; and that the *Mindians* and *Camrians*, with divers other Nations in those parts, were brought under his obedience.

These Sports being once ended, he removed, and
by

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by a Bridge made over the River of *Pyramus*, he came to the City of *Malon*; and from thence, with another motion, came to a Town called *Castabulum*. There *Parmenio* returned to the King, who had been sent to search the *Streights* that lay between them and the City of *Issum*: He had prevented the *Persians* at that Passage; and so leaving men for the defence thereof, he possessed himself of the City of *Issum* that was left desolate: He departed from thence, and did drive the *Persians* out of the Mountains, searching and clearing all the ways; so that having made all things sure for the Army to pass, he returned again, both the Author of the Act, and the Reporter of the thing done. *Alexander* encamped within the City of *Issum*, and there debated in Council, whether it were better to pass on further, or else to tarry there for a more sure power which was coming to him out of *Macedon*: *Parmenio* was of Opinion, that this place was most safe to abide *Darius* in, and to give him Battel, where both the Armies should be of like force, by reason of the *Streights*, wherein no great multitude can fight at once. He shewed reasons why they ought to eschew the Plains, wherein their Enemies should have great advantage through their great number, by which they might close them about; wherein (he said) he feared not his Enemies stoutness, but feared their own men might be overcome with weariness, where a multitude should fight with a few, and fresh men succeed in the place of them that fainted. This Counsel was received for good, and *Alexander* determined in the same place to abide his Enemies.

There

There was in the Host of the *Macedons* one *Syenes* a *Persian*, sent before time from the Gouvernour of *Egypt* unto King *Philip*; who being advanced with reward and promotions, chose to live out of his own Country; and so following *Alexander* into *Asia*, was esteemed among those that the King trusted well: A Souldier of *Greece* delivere^d him a Letter from *Nabarzanes*, *Darius* Lieutenant; he exhorted him to do some notable Enterprise, whereby he might win favour and reputation with *Darius*: *Syenes* innocent of this matter, was divers times about to present the Letter to the King; but seeing him full of weighty affairs in providing for the Battel, he prolonged the matter: and whilst he waited for a more convenient time, he brought himself in suspition of Treason; for the Letter was brought to the Kings hands before it was delivered to him, who reading it, did seal the same with a strange Seal, and caused it to be delivered to *Syenes*, to prove thereby his fidelity: But because he concealed the thing many days, and opened not the matter to the King, it seemed that he consented thereunto; and therefore by the Kings Commandment he was put to death by the hand of the *Cretians*.

The Greek Souldiers which *Thimones* had received of *Pharnabasius* (being those that *Darius* trusted most) were now come to him: They perswaded much *Darius* to retire back into the Plains of *Mesopotamia*; and if he would not do so, that at the least he should divide his power, and not commit the whole force of his Estate to one stroke of Fortune.

This Counsel was not so displeasant unto the King,

King, as to such as were about him ; For they said, Mercenary Souldiers were alwayes full of Treason, and were to be doubted the more, for that they counselled the Army to be divided ; which was for no other purpose, but only that they might have opportunity to fly to *Alexander*, when they should have any charge committed unto them : there is nothing therefore more sure for us (quoth they) than to inclose them round about with our Army, and to cut them in pieces for an example to the world, that Treason may never be left unrevenged : but *Darius*, who was of a meek and good disposition, refused to commit so cruel an act, in slaying such as had betaken themselves to his trust : For he said, *If we should defile our hands with their blood, what strange Nation would ever then commit themselves into our hands ?* and alledged, that there ought no man to lose his life for giving foolish Counsel ; for who would be bold to give counsel, if in counselling there should be any peril ? I call you (quoth he) to counsel daily, and bear the diversity of your opinions, and mistrust not them that give me not alwayes the best counsel. He caused the Greeks to be answered, that he gave them thanks for their good will : but in returning back, he said, that he should give up his Country into his Enemies hands, which was not convenient ; and considering the force that Fame is of in War, in going back (he alledged) he should appear to fly : But to defer the fight he thought it wortl of all, seeing so great an Army as he had (the Winter then approaching) could not be victualled in a desolate Country, that had been wasted both by themselves and by their

enemies. And for the dividing of his power, he shewed that he could not do it, observing the custom of his Predecessors, who were not wont to hazard the Battel, but with all their power : He declared, that *Alexander* before his coming seemed terrible to the world ; and through his absence was brought into a vain presumption : but after he saw him come forwards, he became wary and well advised, hiding himself in the straits of the Mountains, like those coward-Beasts, who hearing the noise of the Passengers, do hide themselves in the dens of the Woods : He hath deluded his Souldiers (quoth he) with his counterfeit sickness ; but now I will not suffer him to prolong the fight any longer, which if he will refuse, I will oppretis him in his lurking holes.

These words he spake with greater ostentation than truth : and sent his Treasure and Jewels with a small Convoy to *Damascus* in *Syria*, and entred with his Army into *Cilicia*, bringing with him, according to his Country manner, both his Mother, his Wite, his little son and his daughter. It so chanced, that on the same night, in which *Alexander* was come to the streight entring into *Syria*, *Darius* came to the place which they call *Pyla Amanica* : the *Persians* not doubting at all but that the *Macedons* would have forsaken the City of *Issum*, and flie away for fear ; for certain of them that were weak and could not follow the Army, were taken ; whom *Darius*, through instigation of the Great men about him, raging in barbarous cruelty, caused their hands to be cut off, and to be led about his Camp, to the intent they might behold the multitude of his Army ; and

and after sufficient view taken; he let them go, to declare to *Alexander* what they had seen. *Darius* removed, and passed the River of *Pyramus*, purposing to pursue after the *Macedons*, which he thought had been flying away : They who had their hands cut off, came running in amongst the *Macedons*, informing that *Darius* was advancing in great haste and fury. There was scarcely any credence given to their words : but to be more certain of it, *Alexander* sent Spies towards the Sea-coast, to know whether *Darius* were there in person, or else had sent some other to make a shew of a power. The Spies returning, advertised that his whole Army was at hand ; and straightway the Fires might be seen, which gave such a shew (by reason they lay stragling so far abroad to get Forrage) as though the whole Country had been on Fire.

When *Alexander* was ascertained of the truth, he incamped in the same place where the tidings came unto him, being marvellously glad because he knew he should fight ; especially in the streights, being the thing he had always most desired. But as it is commonly seen, when danger and extremity is at hand, that confidence is turned into fear ; so now he doubted, not without great cause, that Fortune might change upon him, by whose favour he had done so great acts ; and considered her mutability by such things as she had taken from others, and given unto him. He saw there was now no prorogation of the time ; but that after one night passed, the Victory should be determined. On the other side, he called to remembrance, that the honour of the Victory was a reward that far exceeded the Ad-

venture : and as it was doubtful whether he should overcome or no ; so he was certain if overcome, to die with honour and perpetual Glory. When he had weighed these things, he gave order that the Souldiers should refresh themselves, and at the third Watch be armed in a readiness to advance. He himself went up into the top of a Mountain with many Lights and Torches about him, where he made sacrifice unto the gods after his Country manner : And when the hour was come, he appointed the Souldiers at the third sound of the Trumpet, they should be in a readiness to march out to fight. Exhortation was then given unto them, to pass on with courage and confidence ; and by the break of day they were come to the Streights, wherein their purpose was to prevent *Darius*. By that time such as were sent before to scour the Country, came in, and reported that the Persians were within thirty Furlongs. The Battels were then stayed, and set in such order as they should fight.

As *Alexander* was advertised of *Darius*, so was he advertised of *Alexander* by the Peasants of the Country, who came tearfully running unto him, declaring that *Alexander* was at hand. These words were not believed ; for they could not think them to be coming, whom they thought before to be fled. But when they perceived that it was so indeed, because they were in better order to pursue their Enemies, then to encounter them in battel, they were struck with a marvellous sudden fear. Every man took him to his Armour in haste ; which haste, and the calling that one made upon another, did greatly amaze them. Some ran up to the tops of the hills

hills to view the *Macedons*, others fell to bridling their horses ; so that the Host full of diversity , and not ruled by any certain government , with their hurley-burley did put all things ou: of order. *Darius* at first had appointed one part of his power to take the Mountains, who setting upon his enemies backs, might inclose them both behind and before : and assigned another company to pass along the Seaside, which was on the right hand, to keep his enemies doing on every part. He gave order also that twenty thousand footmen with a Band of Archers, should pass the River of *Pyramus*, and give an onset that way ; but if they found any impediment why they might not do so, then he willed them to retire into the Mountains, and invade their Enemies on their backs : but fortune, which was of greater force than any policy, determined those things that were well devised, according as she thought good. For some durst not for feare execute the thing that was commanded them, and then the rest laboured in vain ; for where the members fail, the whole body is confounded. The order of *Darius* Army stood thus arranged to fight : his power was divided into two Battels , one marching on the left-hand , the other on the right ; *Nabarzanes* impaled the Battel on the right-hand with a great power of Horsemen, and thirty thousand Slingers and Archers.

Thymones was also in the Battel with 30000 mercenary Greeks , being in very deed *Darius* chiefest Force, a power equal unto the *Persians* of the *Macedons*. In the Battel on the left-hand *Aristomenes* was in the fore-front with thirty thousand Footmen , having planted for his succour and relief,

such Nations as were counted most Valiant : there were about the King, being also in the Battel, three thousand choice horsemen that were of the ordinary Guard of his Person ; and forty thousand footmen, with the horsemen of *Hercania* and *Media*, and the horsemen of other Nations were wings on both sides : And besides these numbers, there went before his Battel in a forlorn Hope, six thousand slingers and casters of Darts. All the plain ground between the Streights was filled with Men of War ; *Darius* Battel stood thus aranged from the Mountain down to the Sea-side. The mother and wife of *Darius*, with all the women, were received in the middest of the Battel.

Alexander on the other side, set his square Battel of footmen called the *Pbalanx* (being the *Macedon* chiefest force) in the fore-front : *Nicanor* the son of *Parmenio* was Captain of the Battel on the right hand, and with him, *Cenos* and *Perdicas*, *Meleager*, *Ptolomeus* and *Amintas*, every one a Colonel of his own Regiment : *Parmenio* and *Craterus* had the rule of the Battel on the left hand, which stretched toward the Sea ; but *Parmenio* had the chief charge. The Horsemen were set in wings to both those Battels, the *Macedon* and *Thessalian* Horsemen being appointed to the right-hand Battel, and the Horsemen of *Peloponnesus* to the Battel on the other side : before which Battel there were also set Slingers, with Archers among them ; and the *Cretians* that were lightly armed, advanced before the main Battel. The Band of *Agrians* that were lately come out of *Greece*, were aligned to encounter with those that *Darius* had sent to take the top of the Mountain :

tain: He willed *Parmenio*, that as much as might be, he should stretch out his Forces towards the Sea, and withdraw as far as he could from the Hills which the Enemies had taken; but such as had direction by *Darius* to take the Hills, neither durst resist such as came against them, nor yet compass about such as were passed by them, but fled away at the first sight of the Slingers: which thing chanced well for *Alexander*; for it was the thing that he doubted most, that they from the higher ground should invade the open side of his Battel, which lay unflanked towards them. The *Macedons* marched 32 in a rank; for the streightnes of the ground would not suffer them to move in a broader body; but by little and little, as the plain between the Mountains began to enlarge, so they had liberty to make their Battels broader, and also for the horsemen to march upon the sides.

When both the Battels were come within sight of each other, the *Persians* first gave a terrible and rude thout, which was again doubled by the *Macedons*, not with their number, which was far inferiour unto the *Persians*, but with the rebound of the Hills and the Rocks, which doubled every voice of theirs. *Alexander* did ride up and down before the fronts of his Battels, making a signe to his Soldiers with his hand, that they shold not make too much haste to joyn with their Enemies, for bringing themselves out of breath; and as he went by, he used to every Nation sundry exhortations, as he thought convenient for their dispositions and qualities: He put the *Macedons* in remembrance of their ancient courage, and the number of Battels

that they had won in *Europe*, that they were come thither by his conduct not only to subdue *Asia*, but the uttermost bounds of the Orient. He shewed them to be the people that were ordained to conquer the world, and to pass the bounds of *Hercules* and *Bacchus*; he declared that both *Bactria* and *India* should be theirs; in respect of which, the countries that they had yet seen were but trifles, and these were to be gotten all with one Victory: *Their Travel* (he said) *should not now be in vain*, as it was in the barren Rocks of Illyria, or in the Mountains of Thrace; but in this Conquest the Spoil of the whole Orient was offered unto them; for the getting whereof they should scarcely need to handle their Swords, since the Battels of their Enemies wavered so already for fear, that with their approach only they had almost put them to flight. He recalled his Father *Philip* unto their memory, how he conquered the *Athenians*, with the Country of *Boetia*; how he raised to the ground the noble City of *Thebes*: he made rehearsal to them of the Battel won at the River of *Craunike*, and of all the Cities that he had taken, or that had been yielded unto him, with the Countries they had passed through and subdued.

When he came unto the *Greeks*, he desired them to call to mind the great Wars that had been made against their Country in times past by the *Persians*; first by the pride of *Xerxes*, and after by *Darius*, who made destruction both by Sea and Land, in such sort that the Rivers could not serve them for Drink, nor the Earth furnish them with *Vitals* for Feed: He rehearsed also how the Temples of their gods had

had been by them polluted and consumed, their Cities overthrown, and all Truces broken, which ought to be confirmed both by divine and humane Law, when he passed by the *Illyrians* and *Ithracians*, which were accustomed always to theft and spoil ; he invited them to behold their enemies which glistered with gold, and bare no armour but spoil for them to take : he encouraged them to go forwards like men, and pluck the prey from those effeminate women, and to make exchange of their craggy Rocks and Mountains full of snow, for the plentiful grounds and lands of *Perisia*.

By this time both Armies were advanced within the throw of their Darts, and *Darius* Horsemen gave a fierce charge upon the right-hand-Battel of the *Macedons*. For *Darius* desire was to try the Battel by Horsemen, rightly judging, that the chiefeſt power of his Enemies conſifted in their ſquare Battel of Footmen : So that the Battel where *Alexander* remained, was brought to the point of being incloſed round, if he had not perceived the ſame in time ; and commanding two Bodies of his Horse to keep the top of the Hill, he brought all the reſt of them to the encounter of his Enemies. Having then drawn the *Theſſalian* Horsemen where they stood to fight, he commanded their Capt. to bring them about behind the Battels, and there to joyn with *Parmenio*, to per- form with courage what he ſhould appoint them.

By this time the *Phalanx* of the *Macedons*, in manner incloſed about with their Enemies, fought notably on all parts : but they stood ſo thick, and were ſo joyned one to another, that they wanted ſcēpe to wield their weapons. They were ſo mingled, that in casting

casting their darts they one letted another, few lighting on their enemies, and the most part falling on the ground without harm : and being forced to joyn hand to hand, they valiantly used the sword. Then there was great effusion of blood ; for both the Armies closed so near, that their Harness clashed together, weapon against weapon, and foined at one anothers faces with their Swords.

There was no place for the fearful or the coward to fly back, but each set his foot to other ; and by fighting kept still their place, till they could make their way by force ; and so always passed forwards as they had overthrown their Enemies : As they were wearied and travelled thus with fighting, they were ever received with fresh Enemies ; and such as were wounded might not depart out of the Battel (as it had been seen elsewhere) their Enemies assailed them so fiercely before, and their fellows thrust on so hard behind. *Alexander* that day did not only such things as pertained to a Captain, but adventured himself as far as any private Souldier, coveting by all means to kill *Darius*, which he esteemed the greatest honour.

Darius rode aloft upon his Chariot, giving great provocations both for his Enemies to assail him, and for his own Men to defend him : As *Oxatres* his brother appeared most notable amongst them all in his furniture and personage, so in affection towards the King he exceeded far the rest, especially in that case of necessity ; for when *Alexander* approached near, he thrust in before *Darius* with the band of Horsemen, whereof he had the charge, and overthrowing divers, he put many more to flight. But the

the *Macedons* swarmed so about the King, and were in such a courage by the Exhortation that each made to other, that they charged again upon the Band of Horsemen: Then the slaughter was great, and the overthrow manifest; about the Chariot of *Darius* the noblest of his Captains lay, dying honourably in the sight of their Prince. For just as they received their deaths wounds, so they fell, without turning their backs. Amongst them, *Atycies*, *Romitres*, and *Sabaces* Governor of *Ægypt*; having the charge of great numbers of men, were overthrown and slain; and about them there lay by heaps a huge number of the vulgar sort, both of horsemen and footmen. Of the *Macedons* also some were slain, specially such as presied most forward among whom the right shoulder of *Alexander* was lightly hurt with a sword. In this throng the horses that drew *Darius* Chariot, were thrust in with Pikes, and growing outragious with the sense of pain, began to struggle and overthrow their Master. He fearing therefore to be taken alive, leaped from the Chariot, and was set upon a led Horse, and so fled away, casting his Diadem from his Head, that he might escape unknown. Then the rest of his Army were dispersed by fear, and flying by such ways as were open for them, they threw away the Armour, which before they had taken for their defence: of such a nature is fear, that it refuseth the thing that should be its safeguard.

When *Parmenio* saw them fly, he straight commanded the Horsemen to pursue them, and put all his Enemies to flight that were on that part. But on the other hand, the *Perians* did put the *Thessalian* horsemen

Horsemen to a sore distress, for at the first shock they had broken one of their Troops; yet for all that they wheeled about, and rallying themselves, they charged again the *Persians* with so much courage, that they soon brake their Order, and overthrew them with a great slaughter. The *Thessalians* had herein a great advantage, by reason that the *Persians*, besides that they are armed themselves, have their horses also barbed with Plates of Steel, which was the cause they could not on the Charge, or on the Retreat, be so quick as the *Thessalians* were; for the *Thessalians*, by their celerity, wherein the force of Horsemen chiefly consisteth, had overthrown many of them before they could turn their horses about. When *Alexander* understood that his men prevailed on their Enemies on that Wing likewise, he adventured to follow in the Chase, which he durst not do before he knew the Battel to be clearly won, and the Enemies repelled on all sides.

Alexander had not about him above a thousand Horsemen, with whom he slew many thousands of his Enemies; for who is he that in an overthrow or Chase can number men? Those few *Macedons* drove the multitude of their Enemies before them like sheep; and the same fear that caused them to fly, stayed them likewise in their flying. The *Grecians* that were on *Darius* side, under their Captain *Aminis* (who sometime had been in great Authority with *Alexander*, but then against him) brake out from the rest, and marched away in order of Battel; but the *Persians* fled divers ways, some directly towards *Persepolis*, and some by unfrequented ways escaped by the Mountains and the Woods. A few there

were that recovered their former Camp, which they could not defend any time against the *Macedons* who were Conquerours, but the same immediately was won, abounding with gold and silver, and most rich Moveables, appertaining not only to the Wars, but to all voluptuousness and excess; which riches, whiles the Souldiers violently spoiled, they strowed the ways full of Packs and Fardels, in respect of the covetous desire they had to things of greater value: But when they came unto the Women, as their habiliments were more precious, so the more violently they plucked them away: Their bodies also were not free from their lust and enforcement; the Camp every where being full of tumult and lamentation, as chance befel every one. The licentiousness of the Victors was such, that their cruelty raged upon all Ages and Creatures, and no kinde of mischief was wanting amongst them. There might have been seen the variableness of Fortune; when they which had prepared *Darius* Pavilion, did now reserve and keep the same for *Alexander*, as for their old Master: For the *Macedons* had lett that unspoiled, according to their Ancient Custom, which are ever wont to receive their King, when he is Victorious, into the Kings Pavilion that he hath vanquished.

The Mother and Wife of *Darius*, that there were taken Prisoners, moved all men to cast their eyes and inward contemplations towards them; whereof the one deserved to be Reverenced for the Majesty that was in her, and for her Age; and the other for the excellency of her Beauty, which through her misadventure was nothing stained: She was found imbracing her little Son in her arms, not yet of the age

of six years, born as an Inheritour to the Dominion which his Father had lost : There lay also two young Virgins in his Grand-mothets lap, even then marriageable, who languished and lamented, not so much through their own private sorrow , as for the dolorousness of the old woman. About the mother and the wife , were a great number of noble Women , that pulled their hair and tore their cloaths, without respect of what appertained to their estate , and unmindful of the calamity which *Darius* wife and his mother were come unto, called them still by the name of Queens , with such other titles of honour as they did before. They all forgetting their own misery , were diligent to enquire after the fortune of the field, and what success the Battel had, in which *Darius* was in person ; for if he were alive, they could in no wise think themselves Prisoners : But he by the changing of many horses, was by that time fled far away.

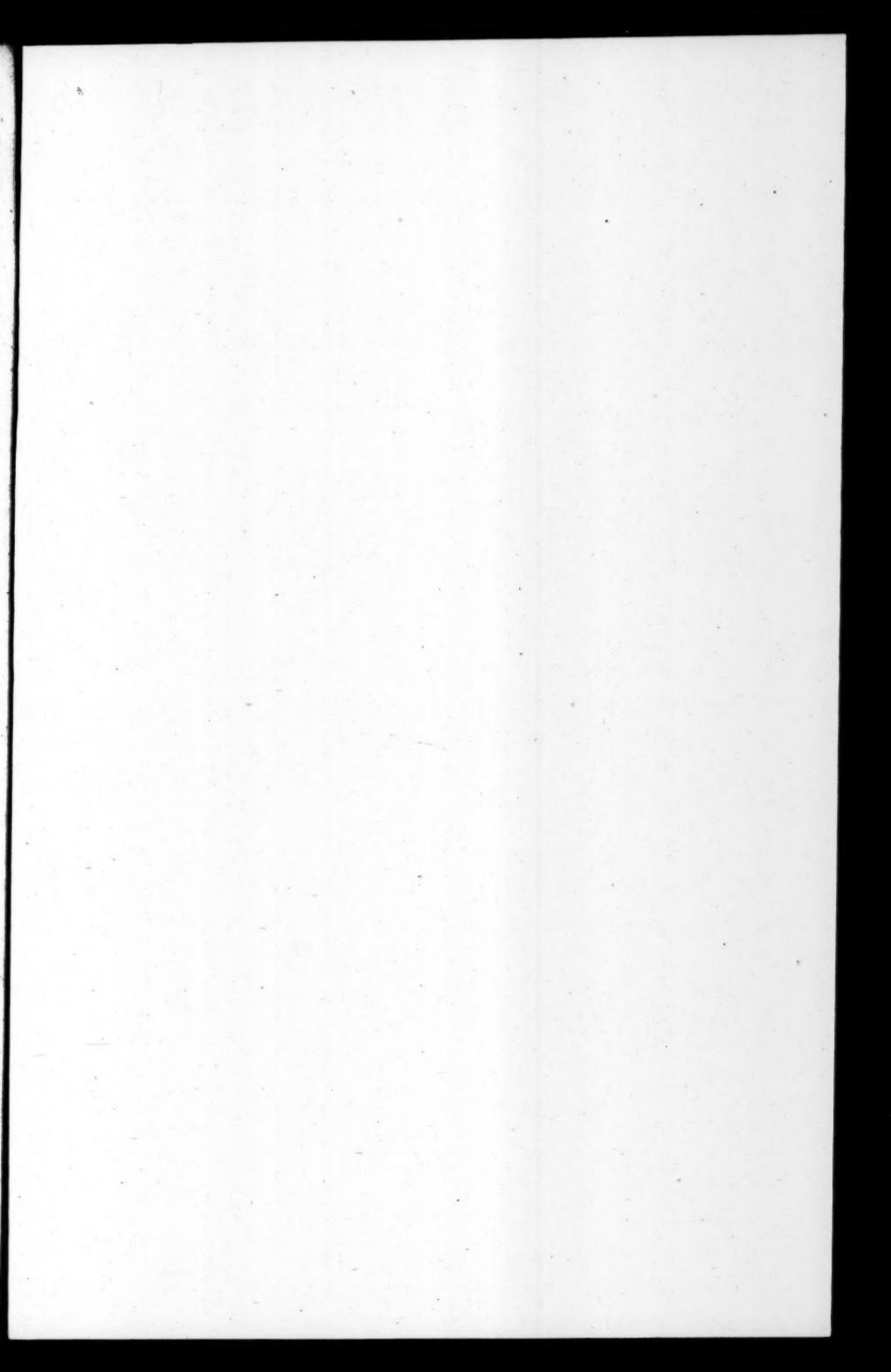
There were slain of the *Persian* Army , one hundred thousand footmen, and ten thousand horsemen ; and of *Alexanders* Company, only 504 hurt, and 32 footmen, and 150 horsemen killed. So great a Victory was gotten with so small a loss. *Alexander* that was wearied with pursuing of *Darius* , when he perceived the night to draw on , and that there was no hope to overtake him whom he followed , returned into the *Persians* Camp, which a little before his coming was taken by his men. That night he made a banquet to such of his friends as he was accustomed to invite ; for the hurt on his shoulder, whereof the skin was but smally perished, did not hinder him from keeping company. As they sate

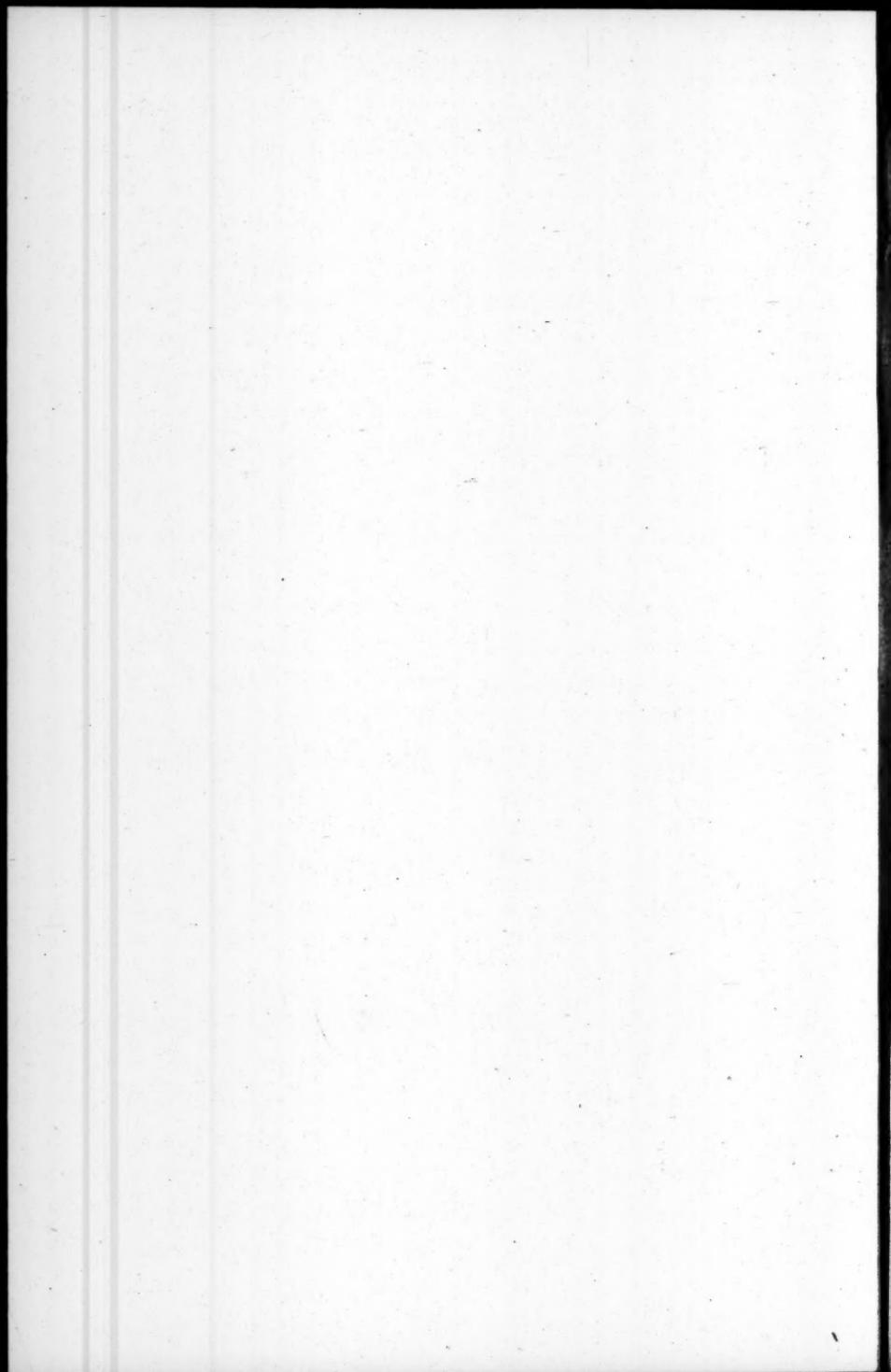
at meat, suddenly they heard a pitiful cry, with a strange howling and lamentation, that put them all in great fear; insomuch that they who kept the Watch about the Kings Pavilion, fearing it to be the beginning of some great matter, began to arm themselves.

The wife and mother of *Darius*, with the other Noble women newly taken prisoners, were the cause of this sudden fear, by lamenting of *Darius*, whom they supposed had been slain; which suspicion they conceived by one of the Eunuches, who standing before their Tent-door, saw a Souldier carry a parcel of *Darius* Diadem, which he a little before had cast from his head. When *Alexander* understood their error, he wept (as it was said) to consider *Darius* misfortune, and the womens affections towards him; and for their comfort sent to them one *Mitbrenes* that betrayed *Sardis*, who was expert in the *Persian* tongue; but yet considering that the sight of him, being a Traitor, should but increase their sorrow, he sent a Noble-man called *Leonatus*, to declare unto them how they were deceived, and that *Darius* was alive. He came towards the Tent where the women were, with certain men in Arms, and sent word before, that he was come thither from the King: But when such as stood at the Tent-door saw armed men approaching, supposing their errand had been to murther their Mistresses, they ran into the place where they were, and cried out, that their last hour was come; for the men were at hand that were sent to kill them: the servants therefore, that neither durst let *Leonatus* in, nor keep him out, brought him no answer, but remained

remained quietly to see what the event would be. When *Leonatus* had long tarried at the door, and saw none come forth to call him in, he left his men without, and entred amongst the Ladies, whose coming unto them, before he was admitted, was the thing that frightened them most of all: The mother therefore and wife of *Darius* fell down at his feet, requiring him that before they were slain he would suffer them to bury *Darius* after his Country manner; which last observance performed, they were content (they said) gladly to suffer death. *Leonatus* assured them, that both *Darius* was alive, and that there was no harm meant towards them; but that they should remain in the same estate they were in before. When *Sisygambis* heard those words, she suffered her self to be lifted up from the ground, and to receive some comfort. The next day, *Alexander* with great diligence, buried the bodies of such of his men as could be found, and willed the same to be done to the Noble men of the *Persians*, giving license to *Darius* mother, to bury so many as she listed, after the custome of her Country. She performed the same to a few that were the nearest of her kin, according to the ability of her present fortune; for if she should have used the *Persian* pomp therein, the *Macedons* might have envied it, who being Conquerours, used no great curiositie in the matter.

When these Rites were performed to the dead, *Alexander* signified to the women-prisoners, that he himself would come to visit them; and causing such as came with him to tarry without, he only with *Ephestion* entred in amongst them. This *Ephestion*





tion of all men was most dear to *Alexander*, being brought up as his Companion from his Youth, and most privy with him in all things ; there was none that had such liberty to speak his minde plainly to the King as he had ; which he used after such sort, that he seemed to do it by no Authority, but by sufferance. And as he was of like years unto him, so in personage he did somewhat excel him : wherefore the Women thinking *Epbestion* to be the King, did fall down and worship him (as their Country-manner was to do to Kings) till such time as one of the Eunuchs that was taken prisoner, shewed them which of them was *Alexander* : Then *Sisygambis* fell down at his feet , requiring pardon for her ignorance, for so much as she did never see him before : The King took her up by the hand, and said , *Mother, you be not deceived, for this is Alexander also :* Which his humility and continency of minde, if he had continually observed to his latter days , he might have been thought much more happy then he was ; when he having subdued all *Asia*, from *Hellestant* to the *Ocean Sea*, did counterfeit the Triumphs of *Bacchus* : or if that amongst the rest of his Conquests , he would have laboured to conquer his pride and his wrath, being vices in him invincible : or if in his drunkennes he would have abstained from the slaughter of his Nobility, and not to have put to death those excellent Men of War without judgment , which helped him to conquer so many Nations. But at this time the greatness of his Fortune had not yet altered his Nature , though afterwards he could not bear his Victories with that vertue which he did win them, but he behaved himself

after such manner, that he exceeded in Continency and Compassion all the Kings that had been before his time. He entertained the two Queens, with those Virgins that were of excellent Beauty, so reverently, as if they had been his Sisters: He not only abstained from violation of *Darius* Wife, which in Beauty excelled all the Women of her time; but also took great care and diligence, that no one should procure any dishonour to her: and to all the women he commanded their ornaments and apparel to be restored; so that they wanted nothing of the magnificence of their former Estate, saving only the assured confidence that Creatures want in misery.

Which things considered by *Sisygambis*, she said unto the King: *Sir, your goodness towards us doth deserve, that we should make the same prayer for you, that we did sometime for Darius; and we perceive you worthy to surpass so great a King as he was, in felicity and good fortune, who do so abound in Justice and in Clemency.* You vouchsafe to call me by the name of Mother, and of Queen, but I confess myself to be your Hand-maid; for I both conceive the greatness of my Estate past, and feel that I can bear this present servitude: It lyeth only in your bands how we shall be dealt withal, and whether you will make us notable to the World, through your Clemency, or your Cruelty. The King comforted them all he might; and willing them to be of good cheer, took *Darius* Son in his arms; at which the Childe was nothing afraid, having never seen him before, but took and embraced him about the neck: He was so moved with the constancy of the Childe,

that he beheld Ephesion, and said, *Oh that Darius had some part of this gentle disposition.*

When he was departed from thence, he caused three Altars to be made upon the River of *Pyramus*, and there did sacrifice to *Jupiter, Hercules, and Minerva*, and so went forwards into *Syria*. He sent *Parmenio* before into *Damascus*, where *Darius* Treasure did remain; who understanding by the way, that *Darius* had sent one of his Nobles thither, fearing that for the smallness of his own number, the Inhabitants of *Damascus* would keep him out, he determined to send for a greater power: But by chance one *Mardus* fell into the hands of the Horse-men that *Parmenio* had sent before to scour the Country, who being brought before *Parmentio*, delivered him the Letters that the Captain of *Damascus* had sent to *Alexander*; and besides the Letters, added of himself, that he doubted not but that all *Darius* riches and his treasure would be delivered to him at his arrival. *Parmenio* gave the charge to certain of his men to secure his person, and then opened the Letters, wherein it was contained, that *Alexander* in all haste should send one of his Captains thither with a small power: which being known, he sent *Mardus* back again to *Damascus*, with a small Guard to accompany him; but he escaped out of their hands, and came to *Damascus* before day-light. That thing troubled *Parmenio* greatly, doubting that his Enemies had laid an Ambuscado for him; and therefore he durst not adventure in an unknown way without a Guide: Notwithstanding, upon the confidence he had in the felicity of his Prince, he took some Peasants of

the Country to conduct him the way, who the fourth day brought him to the City of *Damascus*. The Captain doubting that Credence should not be given to his Letter, pretended to mistrust the strength of the Town, and made countenance as though he woulde fly away. On the break of day he caused *Darius* Treasure (which the *Perſians* call *Gazæ*) with the rest of all his precious things, to be brought forth of the Town, with a resolution to betray the ſame into the *Macedons* hands: There were many thousands of men and women that followed; a pitious ſight to all that ſaw them, ſaving to him to whose fidelity they were committed: For he, to win himself thanks, purpoſed to deliver to his Enemies a prey more precious then all the rest, which was ſuch of his Nobility as he had in his custody, with the Wives and Children of the Great Men that bare Rule under *Darius*: And beſides, the Embaſſadours of the Cities of Greece, whom *Darius* had left in his treacherous hands, as in a Forreſt, to his thinking, of moft ſecurity. The *Perſians* call thoſe (*Gargabe*) that carry burthens upon their ſhoulders, and theſe having the carriage of things of moft value, when they could not endure the Celd or the Frost and Snow that ſuddenly fell, they put upon them the Robes of Gold and Purp'e, which they carried, together with the money, there being no man to let them; for the adverſity of *Darius* cauſed that base ſort of men to uſe a wretched liberty. Those kinde of men ſeemed to *Parmenio*, at the firſt ſight, to be no ſmall Army; and theriſon weighed not the matter lightly, but gave Exhortation to thoſe that were with him, as though they

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they should have fought a sore Battel; and willed them to put their Spurs to their Horses, and give the Charge: which being perceived by them that bare butt-hens, they fled away for fear, and so did the Men of War that were with them, by such ways as they best knew: The Captain of *Damascus* counterfeiting such fear as others feared indeed, was the cause of all this confusion. The riches of *Darius*, were left unguarded, and lay scattered abroad over all the Fields, with the money that was prepared for the wages of so infinite a number of Souldiers; as also the apparel of so many great men and Noble women, with Vessels and Bridles of Gold, Pavilions adorned with Regal Magnificence, and Waggons full of infinite riches: A thing even sorrowful to behold to the Spoilers, if any thing could stay the covetousness of men. Was it not a pitiful thing to behold the riches that had been gathered together in so great a number of years, whiles the State of the *Persians* stood in that incredible height of Fortune, one part thereof to be torn with Bushes, and another part sunk into the Mire? being so great besides, that the hands of the Spoilers could not suffice for the Spoil, when the Horsemen had overtaken them that fled: first they found divers women carrying their small Children, amongst whom there were four Virgins, the Daughters of *Oebus* that reigned next before *Darius*. They before that time had suffered change of Fortune, when the State was altered from their Fathers Line; but this adverlily was much more grievous unto them.

There was in that number the wife of *Oebus*, the Daughter of *Oxatres*, that was *Darius's* Brother, and

the Wife of *Artabasus*, who was of the chief House of *Persia*, with his Son called *Iliomenus*. The Wife and the Son of *Pharnabasus* were also taken, to whom *Darius* had committed the charge of all the Sea-Coasts, and with them the three Daughters of *Mentor*, the Wife and Son of the Noble Captain *Memnon*.

There was scarcely any House of the Nobility of *Persia* free from that evil adventure. There were also both *Lacedemonians* and *Athenians*, that contrary to the League between *Alexander* and them, took *Darius* part: amongst the *Athenians*, *Aristoiton*, *Dropides* and *Levertes*, were of the greatest Line and Linage: and of the *Lacedemonians*, the chiefest were *Perissippus* and *Onomastorides*, with *Omis* and *Callicratides*. The sum of the coyned money there taken, was two thousand and sixty Talents, beside thirty thousand men, and seven thousand beasts that carried burthens upon their backs. But the gods did persecute with due punishment the Betrayer of such a Treasure; for one whom he had made privy to the matter, pitying therein the Estate of his Prince, did slay the Traitor, and brought his head to *Darius*; a comfort, not unapt in that season, to the betrayed King; for thereby he was both revenged of his Enemy, and perceived that the memory due unto his Eltate, was not removed out of the hearts of his people.



THE
FOURTH BOOK
OF
QUINTUS CURTIUS.

Of the Acts of Alexander the Great, King of Macedonia.

Darius, who a little before was Lord of so great an Army, and who came unto the Field carried aloft upon his Chariot, more like to Triumph than to Fight, fled by the places then waste and desert, which he before had filled with his infinite numbers of Men of War: There were but few that followed him; for neither they fled all one way, nor such as followed, could keep pace with him that so often changed Horses. At length he came to *Unchæ*, where he was received of four thousand Greeks, who conducted him to the River of *Euphrates*; thinking all those his Countries lost, in the which by his speed he could not prevent the coming of *Alexander*. *Parmenio* was appointed Governor of *Syria*, and to be the Keeper of the Treasure and prisoners which he took at *Damascus*. The *Syrians* could not at the first bear the new Government, because they had not yet felt the Scourge

of the Wars ; but as they revolted , they were straightway subdued, performing all that they were appointed to do. The Isle of *Arade* was yielded to *Alexander*, whereof *Strato* was King, that had in subjection all the Sea coast, with divers of the Island-Countries ; who being receiyed into trust, *Alexander* marched with his Army into the City of *Marathon*. There he received Letters from *Darius*, that put him into great choler , because they were so arrogantly written. The special point that moved *Alexander* was, for that *Darius* writing himself King, did not vouchsafe to give him that Title, but did write rather by way of Commandment , then of Request; proffering for the Ransom of his Wife and Children, so much money as *Macedon* could receive : For the Government of the Empire (he said) he put it to his choice, to try it by the Sword if he list ; but if he would be better advised , he willed him to be content with his own Inheritance , and he would joyn in Amity with him, and become his Friend ; in which point he was ready to enter into Treaty with him. *Alexander* did write to him again, after this manner :

Darius, whose Name thou ownest , wrought heretofore great destruction upon the Greeks inhabiting the Coast of Helle pont , and upon the Greek Colonies in Ionia, which are Greek Cities ; and passed from thence to the Sea with a great Army, to make War against Greece and Macedon : And also King Xerxes, thy Predecessor, came to subdue us with infinite numbers, which being vanquished in a Battel on the Sea, let notwithstanding Mardonius behinde him in Greece , to destroy their Cities , and burn their Countries: It is manifest

manifest besides, that Philip my Father was slain by such as were corrupted thereunto with your money. You undertake always unjust Wars; and being clad in Arms, go about, for all that, to circumvent men with Treason; as thou of late, having such a number of men in thy Army, didst attempt my death with the promise of a 1000 Talents. I am not therefore the beginner of the Wars, but only do repel such injuries as are offered me; in doing whereof, through the help of the gods (who favour alway the right) I have brought the greater part of Asia under my subjection; and having overcome thee in Battel by force of Arms, there is no cause that I should grant thee any thing, because thou hast not observed towards me the Law of Arms: yet if thou wilt come and submit thyself, I promise thee that I will deliver both thy Mother, Wife and Children; for I both know how to get the Victory, and how to use such as I Overcome. But if thou fearest to commit thy self to us, I will give thee safe Conduct to come freely. As for the rest, when thou writest to me, remember that thou writest not only to a King, but also unto him that is thy King.

He sent this Letter by *Thersipus*, and marched from thence into Phenicia, where the City of *Biblon* was yielded unto him; and so came unto *Sydon*, which was a City of great Magnificence, by reason of the Antiquity and Fame of the Builders: The same was under the Dominion of *Strato*, and supported by the power of *Darius*; who yielding more by the constraint of the people, then of his own good will, was thought unworthy to Reign there. *Alexander* made a Grant to *Ephesion*, that he should make such a one King, whom the *Sydons* thought most worthy of that Honour. There were divers

Noble

Noble young men in that City that had familiarity with *Ephestion*, of whom he thought to have chosen one King ; but they refused his offer, affirming, that none might enjoy that Dignity, except he were descended of the Blood Royal. *Ephestion* wondered at the magnanimity that was in them, in despising the thing that others sought for by Sword and Fire, and said, *Continue you still in that vertuous minde, who are the first that have understanding, how much better it is to refuse, then to receive a Kingdom : Chuse you therefore such a one of the Blood Royal, that may remember he bath received the Rule at your hands.* But when they saw divers gaping for it, and for the greediness they had to Reign, they fell to flattering of such as were near to *Alexander*; they resolved, that there was none more fit for that Dignity then one *Abdolominus*, who being of the Ancient Blood of the Kings, for poverty was inforced to dwell in a small Graunge without the City : His honesty was the cause of his poverty (as it is to many other) and being exercised in his daily labour, he heard no noyse of the Wars that troubled all Asia: They, of whom we spake before, came into his Garden with Garments to apparel him like a King, and found him weeding of his ground, whom they saluted King, and said, *You must make exchange of the vileness of your apparel, with these rich Robes we here present you : Wash thy body that is now covered with Dust, and take upon thee the Heart of a King ; and in this Fortune, whereof thou art worthy, shew the same moderation and contineency as at this present : And when as thou shalt sit in thy Regal Seat, having in thy bands the power of the life*

life and death of thy people, do in no wise forget the Estate thou wert in when thou took'st the Kingdom up-on thee, nor yet for what purpose thou didst receive it. The matter seemed to Abdoluminus like a Dream, who asked them if they were mad that would mock him after that manner? But when he saw them affirm by Oaths the thing to be in earnest, he washed himself; and receiving the Garment, which was of Purple and Gold, he went with them into the Palace.

The Fame (as it is accustomed in such a case) did notably abroad of this subje^t; some favoured the cause, and some did disdain it; but such as were rich, did upbraid his poverty and base Estate, to such as were near about Alexander, who caused the King to send for him; and when he had long beheld his behaviour, he said: Your personage doth not disagree from the Fame of your Linage; but I desire to know with what patience you did sustain your poverty: I would to God (quoth he) I could bear my prasperity in like case now, when I am a King: These hands did get that I desired; and having nothing, I lacked nothing. His words caused Alexander to conceive of him a marvellous good Opinion; so that he gave unto him, not only the riches, stuf^f, and furniture appertaining to the King before, but also many things that were taken from the Persians; adding to his Dominion, all the Country near about that City.

In the mean season, Amintas, who heretofore fled from Alexander to Darius, and now he escaped in the last Battel, did come to Tripolis with four thousand Greeks; where he imbarqued, and sailed to Cyprus;

Cyprus ; thinking the World to be such then , that every one might enjoy what he could get , as if it had been his own Inheritance . His purpose was to go into Egypt , thinking there to become an Enemy both to Darius , and to Alexander , and to comply with the world , according as time should serve . To bring therefore his Souldiers to think well of his Enterprize , he declared how the Governour of Egypt was slain in the Battel , and that the Persians left there in Garrison were but a small number , of little force , and without any head : He shewed how the Egyptians used to Rebel against their Governors ; wherefore they were sure to be received as Friends : *For necessity (quoth he) hath inforced us to prove our Fortunes , which failing us in our first hope , we must now conceive that the time to come shall be much better then the Fortunes we now enjoy.* They all agreed with one voice , that he should lead them where he pleased : Whereupon , thinking not good to pretermit the occasion , whiles they were high with hopes , he conveyed them to Egypt , and entered the Haven at Pelusium , under pretence that he had been sent thither by Darius . When he had got Pelusium , he set forwards towards Memphis ; at the Fame of whose coming , the Egyptians being a light Nation , and more apt to raile a Coil , then to maintain it when it was once begun , ran to him out of all their Towns and Villages , with an intent to destroy all the Persians ; who notwithstanding the fear they were in , did not leave the defence of the Country , but fought with the Greeks , and were put to flight .

After this Victory , Amintas besieged Memphis , and his

his men destroyed so all the Country thereabouts, that they left nothing unspoiled : Whereupon, *Mazches*, though he perceived his men much amazed with the fear of their late overthrow ; yet when he saw his Enemies scattered abroad, and without order, being overcome with security, and the pride of their late Victory, he at length perswaded his men to issue out of the City ; and in setting upon their Enemies, to recover again what they had lost : Which advice being good of it self, being thoroughly followed, took most fortunate success ; for they slew at that time both *Amintas* and all his company. This punishment he suffered for the offence committed to both Princes, being neither faithful to *Alexander* whom he forsook, nor to *Darius* to whom he fled. *Darius* Captains who escaped from the Battel of *Issum*, gathering together such men as were scattered abroad, and such power beside as they could levy in *Cappadocia* and *Paphlagonia*, did attempt to recover again the Country of *Lydia*. *Antigonus* was Gouvernour for *Alexander* there, who notwithstanding that he had taken many Souldiers out of the Garrisons of *Alexander*, yet he so little esteemed his Enemies, that he doubted not to adventure the Battel. The *Perians* there received the like Fortune they did in other places, and attempting the Fight in thre sundry Countries, were vanquished in them all.

At the same time, the Navy of the *Macedons* which *Alexander* had sent for out of *Greece*, meeting *Aristimones*, (whom *Darius* had appointed to make War upon the Coast of *Hellefpon*) fought with, and drowned all his Ships. *Phernahajus*, *Darius* having exacted

exacted money of the *Misionians*, and put a Garrison in *Scios*, passed into the Isle of *Andros* with a hundred Ships, and from thence he sailed to *Shiph-nus*; and putting Men of War into all the Islands, exacted of them money. The greatness of the War that was in hand between two of the most puissant Princes of *Asia* and *Europe*; did draw both *Greece* and *Creet* to Arms: *Agis*, the King of *Lacedemon*, gathered together eight thousand Greeks that were come home out of *Cilicia*, and moved War against *Aniipater* that was Governour of *Macedonia*. The *Cretians* following sometime one part, and sometime another, received one while a Garrison of *Macedons*, and another while of *Lacedemonians* to lye amongst them. But those Wars were of no great importance, for all mens eyes were fixed upon the Wars that were between *Alexander* and *Darius*, whereupon all the rest did depend.

The *Macedons* had subdued all *Syria* and *Phenice*, *Tyre* only excepted; which being the greatest and most notable City of all that Country, shewed that they esteemed themselves worthy rather to joyn with *Alexander* as Friends, then to become his Subjects; for when he was come near unto them, and incamped upon the main Land, which is divided from their City with a small Arm of the Sea, they sent to him, by their Embassadours, a Crown of Gold for a Present, with great plenty besides of victuals for his Army: He received their Gifts as from his Friends, and gave gentle Answers unto the Embassadours; but he shewed himself much desirous to make Sacrifice unto *Hercules*, (whom the *Tyrians* specially worshipped, and the *Macedon* Kings

Kings supposed themselves to be descended of him) being admonished (as he said) by an Oracle. The Embassadors made answer, *That there was a Temple of Hercules without their City, in the place which they call Palætiron, whereas he might do Sacrifice at pleasure.* At those words Alexander could not refrain from anger, whereunto he was much subject, but fell in a great passion.

I perceive now (quoth he) because ye dwell in an Island, ye trust so much in the scituacion of your City, that ye despise my Land power: But I will shortly make you understand, that you are scituated upon the Main Land; and therefore trust to it, that if ye receive me not in, I will enter into your City by force.

When the Embassadors were dismissed with this answer, such as were near about the King, persuaded them that they should not exclude him whom all Syria and Phenicia had received: But they had entertained such a confidence, for that their City stood in the Sea, being divided eighty furlongs from the Main Land, that they absolutely determined to abide the Siege.

That Sea of theirs is much subject to the South-West-winde; which at every Storm made the Waves beat so high against the shore, that it would not suffer the Macedons to make any work for the uniting the Main Land to the City, it being scarce possible to work any thing there when the weather was most calm. The first work that the Macedons began, was by and by thrown down with the vehemency of the Seas that were driven by the windes; nor could they make any Fort so strong within the Sea, but that it was washed away, and brought down by beating

beating of the Waves ; and when the Windes blew violently, they would bring the Seas clean over the work. There was another difficultie no lesse then this ; for by reason that the Walls were environed about with the deepnes of the Sea, they could raise no Engine to shoot, but afar off out of the Ships ; nor was there any ground about the City, whereupon Ladders might have been reared against the walls, or approach made unto them by Land. Alexander had no Ships ; and if he had any, and would have coveted to bring them to the walls, yet by reason of the unstabilitie of the water, they might with shot easily have been kept off. But amongst many other things, the Tyrians were wonderfully encouraged by the coming of the Embassadors, sent from Carthage to celebrate a yearly sacrifice : for the Tyrians being the builders of Carthage, were ever since that time had in Veneration of them, as their Parents and first Founders. Those Embassadors exhorted them in any wise to continue the Siege, and promised them shortly aid ; which thing they alledged might easily and soon be done , for so much as at that time all the Seas were full of the Carthaginian ships. Upon this encouragement, they determined to abide the extremity, and placed their Engines upon the Towers and walls , dividing their Engines amongst the Youth of the City. The Artificers , whereof the City had great plenty, were divided into Work-houses , to make all such things as were necessary for the Wars : There were devised certain Instruments wherewith they might pull down the Works that their Enemies made, called *Harpagons* ; and also

also Crows of Iron, named *Corvi*, with all other things that might be invented for the defence of the City. But a strange thing is reported, that when the Iron was put in the Forge, and blown in the Fire, the same was seen to be full of drops of blood: which Wonder, the *Tyrians* did interpret as a token of good Fortune towards themselves, and as a signification of destruction towards their Enemies. A like wonder was seen among the *Macedons*; for when a certain Soldier was breaking of his bread, drops of blood appeared therein: whereat *Alexander* being affloned, *Aristander*, that was most cunning of all the Dviners, did interpret thus the matter: *If the blood had appeared outwardly, then it had signified evil fortune to the Macedons; but in as much as it was found within, it betokened destruction to the City they went about to conquer.*

Alexander considering his Navy to be far from him, and that a long Siege should be an impediment to his other affairs, sent Officers of Arms into the City, to perswade them unto peace; whom the *Tyrians*, against the Law of Nations, did drown in the Sea. Their unjust death stirred *Alexander* so much, that he then utterly determined to go forwards with the Siege: But before he could make his approach, it was of necessity for him to make a Peer or Land-work, whereby they might pass from the main Land to the City: But in the making thereof, there entred great despair into all mens hearts, considering the deepness of the Sea, which they saw not possible to be filled scarce'y by any Divine power; for they thought no Stones so great, no

Trees so high, nor any Country to have such plenty, as might suffice for the building of a Bank in such a place, considering the Sea remained always troubled; and the narrower the place was between the City and the Land, so much more greater was the violence of the waters. But *Alexander*, who had the policy to allure his Souldiers to what effect he pleased, declared that *Hercules* appeared unto him in his sleep, and gave him his hand, proffering him to be his Captain and his Guide for his entrance into the City: Thereunto he added the killing of his Embassadors, whereby they had violated and broken the Law that all Nations observed, and that there remained but one City which stayed his Victory: thereupon he divided the work amongst his Captains, that every one might apply his own Band, and put the work more forward.

There were great plenty of stones at hand of the ruines of the old City where *Tyre* stood before; and for the making of Boats and Towers, Timber was brought from Mount *Libanus*: The work did rise from the bottom of the Sea like a Mountain, but it was not yet brought to the High-water mark; and the further the Peer was brought from the Land unto the Seaward, so much the sooner the Sea did swallow up the materials whereof the Peer was made. Whiles the *Macedons* were thus about their work, the *Tyrians* would come about them in small Vessels, and give them words of reproach and scorn; as, they were now become goodly Men of War, that would be made Pioniers, and carry burthens upon their backs: And they asked them, if they thought *Alexander* to be greater then the god of the Sea?

But

But their reproach did not hinder, but increase the chearfulness of the Souldiers in their pain and travell ; insomuch, that the work in a short space surmounted above the water, and increasing much in breadth, approached near unto the City : Then the *Tyrians* seeing the hugeness of the work, in the increase whereof they saw them selves deceived, little thinking that it would have grown to such a pass, in little Vessels came rowing about the Peir, and drove the Souldiers with shot from their working ; and because they could easily bring their Boats suddenly forwards, return soon again, they hurt many of the *Macedons*, without any danger to themselves, inforsing them to leave their work, and fall to their own defence : For remedy whereof, and to avoid their Enemies shot, they were compelled to stretch out Beasts skins upon Poles, like Sails, and set those between them and their Enemies : and besides, at the head of the Peir they raised up two Towers, from whence with shot, and casting of Darts, they kept off the Boats that came about them.

On the other side, the *Tyrians* would land men with their Boats far out of the sight of the Camp, and kill such as were carrying of stones. The Peasants of *Arabia* also did set upon certain of the *Macedons* that were scattered abroad in Mount *Libanus*, where they slew and took divers : that was one cause which moved *Alexander* to divide his Army ; and lest he might seem to remain idle about the Siege of one City, he appointed *Perdiccas* and *Caterus* to take the charge of the work he had in hand, and marched himself in person into *Arabia*, with

such part of his power, as was most apt for his present purpose. In the mean season, the *Tyrians* prepared a great ship, laden with stones and gravel b'hinde, so that the fore-part floated above the water: which ship anointed over with pitch and brim-stone, they brought suddenly, by sailing and force of Oars, unto the Peer; and there remaining, the Marriners set th. ship on fire, and then leaped into the Boats, which followed after to receive them. The ship thus set on fire, so inflamed the Wood-work pertaining to the Peer, that before any rescue could come, the fire had taken the Towers of the Peer, and all the rest of the Works that were made in the head. When they, who leaped into the Boats, saw the matter take such effect, they put betwixt the Timber, and other void p'aces, both Fire-brands, and all such things as might give nourishment and increase to the fire: So that the Towers, and all the rest, being on a flame, many of the *Macedons* were consumed therewith; and the rest forsook their Arms, and threw themselves into the Sea. The *Tyrians*, that were more desirous to take them alive, then to kill them with staves and stones, did so beat them on the hands as they were swimming, that for weariness they were glad to be taken up into their Boats. The Towers were not consumed with fire only; for it chanced also the same day a terrible wind to rise, which blowing from the Sea, brought the Waves with such violence upon the Peer, that with often beating of the Seas, the joyns that knit the work together, began to loose and to leave their hold: then the water that washed through, brake down the whole work in the mid'st;

so that the heaps of stones which were before sustained by the Timber and Earth cast betwixt them, being broke asunder, the whole work fell to ruine, and were carried away into the Deep.

By that time *Alexander* was returned out of *Arabia*, and scarcely found any remainder or token, that any such work had been. In that case (as it is ever used in things that chance evil) one laid the fault upon another, when indeed , the violence of the Sea was the cause of all. *Alexander* began to make the Peer again after a new manner ; the head therefore lying into the weather and the winde, and not the open side, as it did before ; so that the forefront always defended the rest of the work lying behinde. He increased also the breadth thereof, to the intent the Towers might be builded in the midst of the Peer, whereby they should be less subject to the Enemies shot : whole Trees were put into the Sea, with their tops and branches ; and after, great stones were thrown upon them ; and over those a new course of stone and trees , and stone again ; by which device this whole work was joyned and fastned all into one.

As the *Macedons* were busie to bring their work forwards , so the *Tyrians* were as diligent to invent all such things , as might give impediment to their proceeding. The chiefe practice was , for a great number of them to enter into the Sea coaft, afar off, out of the *Macedons* sight , and so come diving under the water, till they came unto the Peer ; where with Hooks they would pull the bradches of the Trees that appeared out of the stones, and the other substance followed after into the deep : For the

Trees being discharged of their burthens, were easily drawn away; and then the Foundation failing, the whole Work, that stayed upon the Trees, fell to ruine. Amongst these impediments, *Alexander* stood in great perplexity of minde, doubting whether he should continue the Siege still, or else depart his way. When he was in this imagination, suddenly his Navy arrived to *Cyprus*, and *Cleander* also with his Souldiers which he had brought out of *Greece*: And having to the number of 180 Ships, divided them into two Squadrons; whereof he committed the one unto *Pythagoras*, the King of *Cyprus*, and to *Craterius*, and took charge of the other himself; committing his own person to a Galley called *Cinquereme*, which had five Oars on a side. The *Tyrians* durst not adventure the Sea-fight, although they had a great Navy, but set all their Galleys in a Front before the Walls of the City, which the King assailed, and put to distress.

The next day, the *Macedons*, with their ships, environed the City round about, and did beat down the Walls, especially with such Engines as they call *Rams*; but the *Tyrians* straightway inforced, and made up their Walls with stones that lay at hand, and raised up an inward Wall round about the City, which might be their defence if the other failed: But their destruction approached on every side; the Work was now wrought within the cast of a Dart, and the Ships gave the approach round about the Walls, so that they were over-laid both by Sea and Land: The *Macedons* had devised to joyn their Galleys, two and two together, in such sort, that the fore-parts met close before, and the hinder

hinder parts lay far off one from the other; and over the spaces remaining betwixt Poop and Poop, they made Bridges, with Masts and Main-yards layed betwixt Galley and Galley, fast bound together to carry Souldiers upon. When they had put their Galleys in this order, they set forwards towards the City; and having rampired the Sterns for defence of the Souldiers that were behinde, they stood in their Galleys, and did shoot and cast Darts against their Enemies, without any peril or danger to themselves. It was Mid-night when they had Commandment to set forwards, after this manner; as the Ships were approaching on all parts, and the *Tyrians* stood astonished for fear and desperation, behold, the Sky was overwhelmed with dim Clouds, and a sudden darknes took away the light: Then the Sea, by little and little, waxed terrible and rough; the Winde blew, railing the Waves, which did beat the Ships one against another; the violence wherof, burst asunder the Bands and Graspers wherewith the Galleys were fastened together: Which done, the Bridges crafted, and flew asunder; and with the Soidiers that stood upon them, fell into the Sea. There was great confusion; for the Ships entangled thus together, could by no means be governed in such a Tempest; the Soul-diers disturbing thefeat of the Marriners, and the Marriners giving impediment to the Office of the Souldiers.

Thus (as it doth often happen in such a case) the expert were obedient to the ignorant; for the Ship-Masters that were accustomed to Command, for fear of death, were directed by others. But at

length, by force of Rowing, the Galleys recovered the shore, the greater part of them being broken and torn. It chanced, at the same time, thirty Embassadors to come from *Carthage* to *Tyre*, who gave more comfort then assistance to them that were besieged: For they shewed how the *Carthaginians* were so assailed with Wars at their own doors, that they could by no means send them succour; insomuch, that the *Syracusans* were destroying *Africa* with Fire and Sword, and had incamped themselves under the very walls of *Carthage*. The *Tyrians* yet were not discomfited, for all that they were disappointed of their special trust; but delivered unto those Embassadors their Wives and their Children, to carry unto *Carthage*, thinking to continue the Siege with greater resolution, if the things which were most dear unto them were removed out of danger.

There was a *Tyrian*, who in an open Assembly declared, that *Apollo* (whom the *Tyrians* greatly do worship) had appeared to him in his sleep, and declared to him, that he had forsaken the City, and transformed the work that the *Macedons* had made, into a great Wood. Hereupon, though the Author were of small credit; yet for as much as men in fear are apt to believe the worst, they tyed *Apollo's* Image with a Golden Chain, and bound fast also the Altar of *Hercules*, (to whom the City was dedicate) thinking by detaining of the one, to keep safe the other. The *Carthaginians*, in times past, had brought that Image from *Syracuse*, and had placed it in the head-City, out of the which they were descended: For their custom was to adorn *Tyre* with such spoils as they

they had taken , no les then they did *Carthige* it self. They, at that time, would also have been Authors unto the *Tyrians*, for the renewing of an old sacrifice that had been omitted many years, wherein they used to offer up to *Saturn* a tree-born childe ; which being rather a sacrilege then a sacrifice, the *Carthaginians* received from their first Founders, and still obserued the same, till they were destroyed : and had not the Ancient Men, by whom all things were governed, withstood it , this wicked Superstition had taken place, which Nature and Humanity doth abhor : The nec. ssity that was hanging over their heads, being more effectual then any Art or Science, practised not only such things as were accustomed for defences, but also found out what was never invented before : For to the disturbance of the ships that approached the Walls , they devised long Ratters , to the which they fastened grapp' es of Iron, and great hooks like Sythes ; which let down with Ropes by an Engine , either did tear the ships, or destroyed the men. They invented also Targets of Mettle to be made fire-hot , in the which they put burning Sand, and scalding Lime , and then poured the same upon the *Macedons* that came near to the Walls , being a mischief that they feared most of all other : For when the hot Sand entred between the Harness and the body, there was no means to avoid it ; and where it touched, it burned to the bones ; so that they were forced to throw away their Harness, and tear away all things they had upon their bodies ; thereby they became subject to be hurt by their Enemies, and were not in case to indamage them again : But specially the Grapplers that were let down
(called

(called *Corvi*) took violently away many of the Souldiers that were within the ships. Alexander seeing the obstinate defence of the *Tyrians*, was weary of the Siege, and determined to raise it, and to go unto *Egypt*: For considering in how short a space he subdued *Asia*, it grieved him to be detained so long about the Walls of one City, whereby he omitted the occasion and opportunity of greater Conquests. But he was as much ashamed to depart without his purpose, as to continue there, and leave other things undone; judging, that if he should leave *Tyre* in that sort as a witness that he might be withheld, it should much impair his Fame, by which he had gotten more then by force: And it chanced at the same time, a Monster of an exceeding bigness did appear, as well in the sight of the *Tyrians*, as the *Macedons*; which lying upon his back above the water, came towards the Peer; and when he had lifted up himself at the head of the Peer, it dived under the water again; and sometimes appearing above, and sometimes hiding himself underneath, when it came near the walls of the City, it vanished out of sight.

The sight of this Monster rejoiced both parties, the *Macedons* interpreting the same to be sent them as a Guide for their direction to finish the work: And the *Tyrians* divining, that *Neptune*, in revenging the usurpations that the *Macedons* had made upon the Sea, would shortly destroy the work that they had made, in such like sort as he had taken away the Monster. They, upon their own imagination, conceived such a gladness, and prognosticated to themselves such good Fortune, that they

they fell to banqueting and drinking ; and when they were well charged with Wine , at the Sun-rising , they put Garlands of Flowers upon their heads, and mounted into Galleys , not only with hope of Victory, but with a Triumph made beforehand. It chanced at the same time, that *Alexander* had conveyed his Navy to the contrary side of the City, and left upon the shore thirty of the smallest Vessels , of the which the *Tyrians* took two, and put the rest in danger of distreis , until such time as the King hearing the Alarm, set forwards with his Navy towards that part where the cry was heard. The first Galley of the *Macedons* that came near them was a *Cinquereme*, the swiftest of all the rest ; which when the *Tyrians* espied , they came against her with two Galleys cross upon her side ; whereof the one struck at her full with her Spurn , with whom the *Cinquereme* grappled ; and the other, which was loose and at liberty, fell upon her on the contrary side. But lest between them two she might sustain some damage , one of *Alexanders* *Triremes* came to the rescue, with such violence, that the Master of the loose Galley was struck into the Sea. When the *Tyrians* saw that *Alexander* was come himself , and more of his ships at hand, with strength of Oars, and great industry , they set their Galleys that were intangled loose again, and at liberty , making towards their Haven with all the haste they could ; *Alexander* immediately pursued them ; but when he came to the Haven he could not enter, but was beaten off with shot from the walls , yet did he take and drown the most part of their Galleys. After this Adventure , he refud his

Souldiers two days , and then commanded his ships to be brought forwards , and the Engines in them ; to the intent , that by assailing the *Tyrians* on all sides , he might put them into an extreme fear . *Alexander* with a wonderful courage , not without great peril of his person , mounted up into the top of a Tower that was made in a Ship , and there known by his apparel and rich Armour , was chieffly assaulted , and shot on from all parts . He wrought wonderful feats with his own person ; for both with his Pike he slew divers that stood at defence , and afterwards he fought hand to hand , with his Sword and Target , throwing divers down from their defence ; for the Tower wherein he fought joyned hard to the Walls .

By that time the Engines , called *Rams* , with much beating , having laid low the Walls , the Navy was got within the Haven , and certain of the *Macedons* had won the Towers : The *Tyrians* then oppressed with so many miseries at once , were clean discomfited ; some fled unto the Temples for succour ; some did shut their doors , taking that kinde of death they liked best ; and others ran upon their Enemies , to sell their lives at the dearest rate : but the most part got up into the tops of their houses , and from thence did cast down upon their Enemies , whatsoever came unto their hands . *Alexander* commanded all to be slain without exception , saving such as fled into the Temples , and willed all the houses to be set on fire . Though Proclamation thereof was made through the City , yet the *Tyrians* that bore Arms could not save themselves ; for as the Women and Children filled the Temples , so the men

men kept the Entries of their houses, ready to abide the cruelty of their enemies : Yet the *Sydonians* were the occasion that many were saved , who serving in the Garrison of the *Macedons* , and entring the City with them, were mindful of their Affinity with the *Tyrians* (*Agenor* being the Builder of both their Cities) and conveyed many into their ships , which they privately sent unto *Sydon* ; by that means fifteen thousand escaped the cruelty of the Sword. The number of them that were slain may partly be conjectured , in that there were found dead within the City , six thousand of such as did bear Arms. The Kings anger against the City made the sight dolorous even unto the Conquerours : For 2000, whom the fury of the slaughter had left alive , were afterwards hanged upon Crosses all along the Sea-Coast. The Embassadours of the *Carthaginians* were saved ; but War was threatned to be made against them , from the which he was then hindred by other busyness he had in hand.

Thus *Tyre* was taken the seventh moneth after it was besieged ; a City notable to Posterity , as well through the antiquity thereof, as by the often change of Fortune it had suffered. It was builded by *Agenor*, and many years was Mistress of the Seas, not only thereabouts, but in all places where their Navies were heard of ; and if we may credit Fame , that City was the first which either taught or learned letters. They builded Cities , and filled them with Inhabitants throughout the greatest part of the world ; as *Cartbage* in *Africk*, *Thebes* in *Boetia* , and *Cades* in *Spain*, upon the Ocean. It is believed, that by reason of their free course through all Seas , and by visiting

siting many strange Countries, they had occasion to look out Seats in which to place their Youth, wherewith they then abounded; or else, as some report, the Inhabitants unwilling to dwell there, by reason of many Earth-quakes, were compelled, by force of Arms, to seek out new dwelling places. But when many casualties had happened unto Tyre, after this destruction being restored to its former height of flourish, it now remaineth under the protection of the Roman Clemency. About the same time Alexander received Letters from Darius, wherein at last he was contented to name him King.

His request was, that Alexander would receive his Daughter Saptina for his Wife, with whom he offered in Dower, all the Country between Hellespont, and the River of Alye, would reserve unto himself only such Kingdoms as lay from thence Eastward; and if peradventure he should refuse to receive this offer, he willed to consider, that Fortune is not wont to continue long in one Estate, and that the greater felicity men enjoy, the greater envy doth attend them. It was to be doubted (he said) lest he exalted himself through some vain affection, like as Birds use to do, whose natural lightness doth convey them to the Stars: for there was nothing more difficult, then in such young years, to bear well the height and greatness of Fortune. He willed him also to consider, that there remained yet many Countries that he had not touched, and that he should not meet him always in the Streights, having to pass the River of Euphrates, Tygre, Araxes, and Hydaspes, which were as Bull-warks unto his Dominion; and when he should come

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unto the Plains , he would be ashamed of his small number. He put him in remembrance , how long it should be ere he could pass Media, Hircania, Bactria, and the Indians that bordered on the Ocean Sea ; and likewise the Sogdians and Arachosians, of whom men have no other knowledge , then of their names only, with other Nations lying towards Mount Caucasus, and the River of Tanais. And although no man should withstand him , or give him Battel , yet he should grow in age (he said) before he could pass so many Lands. In the latter end, he advised him not to call him forwards, for he would come soon enough to his destruction.

Alexander made answer to those Letters by the Messengers that brought them, to this effect :

That Darius offered to him that which was none of his own , and made a proffer to give that which he had already lost. For Lydia, Ionia, Aeolida, and the Coast of Hellespont, which he appointed in Dover, were already become the Rewards of his Victory : And as for Laws and Conditions , those were wont to be given and appointed by the Victors , and received of such as were overcome ; and if he were ignorant in which of those two Estates he were, that he should adventure the Battel once again : For he was not ignorant , he said, before he passed the Sea, how Lydia and Cilicia were over small rewards for the making of such a War. But his determination was to subdue and bring under his subjection, both Persepolis, the chief City of his Empire, and also Bactria, and Ecbatana, with the uttermost bounds of the Orient : He could fly nowhere but he was able to follow ; and therefore counselled him, that he should not fright him with Rivers , who had learned how to pass Seas.

Thus

Thus the Kings wrote one to another ; and in the mean season the Rhodians yeilded their City and their Haven unto *Alexander*, who committed the Rule of *Cilicia* unto *Socrates*, and the Country about *Tyre* unto *Philotas*. *Andromachus* was made *Parmenio* his Deputy in *Caria* and *Syria* ; for *Alexander* minding to accomplish what he had begun , commanded *Epbestion*, that with his Navy he should sail along the Coast of *Phe-nicia* ; and so he came with his whole power to the City of *Gaza*. About the same time there were solemn Triumphs and Plays at *Ithmos*, accustomed to be celebrated by the confluence of all Greece. In this a Council was had, and (as the Wits of the Greeks be sudden) they decreed to send twelve Embassadours unto *Alexander*, for the carrying unto him a Crown of Gold , in gratifying the Victory he had won, and the Acts he had done for the safeguard and Liberties of Greece ; and yet a little before they hearkned how the Fame went , and were ready to bend that way that Fortune inclined. *Alexander* visited not in person all such Countries and Cities as refused to do their obedience unto him, but made Conquest of them by his Deputies : for *Cales* Mastered *Paphlagonia*, *Antigonus* *Liconia*, and *Balacrus* overcame *Idarne*, who was *Darius* Lieutenant, and won *Miletum*: *Amphi-*
terus and *Egilachus*, with a Navy of an hundred and sixty Ships , subdued all the Islands between *Asia* and *Achaia* ; and also, by the consent of the Inhabitants, got *Tenedos*, always a Receptacle of the Persians.

They were at the point to have gotten *Scios*, but that *Pharnabizus*, *Darius* Deputy , having intelligence

gence of it, did first apprehend all such as were of the *Macedons* Faction, and committed the City with a small Garrison to *Apolonides* and *Athenagoras*, that were inclined to the *Persians*. *Alexander's Captains* for all this continued the Siege of the City, not so much in trust of their own strength, as in hope of the Faction they had within the City; in which they were not deceived: For through a Sedition which did arise between *Apolonides*, and the Captains of the Men of War, occasion was ministred unto the *Macedons* to enter the Town. When the Gate was broken up, and a Band of *Macedons* entred, then the Citizens, which before had devised to Rebel against the *Persians*, took part with *Amphiterus* and *Egilocius*; so that the Garrison of the *Persians* were slain, and *Pharnabas*, with *Apolonides* and *Athenagoras*, taken prisoners.

There were twelve Galleys taken, with their Souldiers and Rowers, besides thirty Ships and Vessels of Pyrates, with three thousand Greeks that were in pay under the *Persians*, the Greeks serving to recruit the Forces of the *Macedons*; and the Pyrates being put to death, the other Ships were added to their own Fleet.

It chanced that *Aristonicus*, the Usurper of *Methymna*, ignorant of any such thing as chanced in the fore-part of the night, came with certain Pyrates Ships to enter into the Haven; of whom when the Watch demanded what he was, he said he was *Aristonicus*, and came to the succour of *Pharnabas*: They answered, He was at rest, and could not then be spoken withal; but it should be lawful for him, being their Friend, to enter into the Haven for that

night, and speak with him when it was day. *Ari-*
stonicus was the first that entred, and the ten Pyrate
ships followed him: But whiles they anchored their
ships, the Watchmen drew the Chain again over
the Haven, and then called up such as lay near a-
bout them; whereupon none of them durst resist,
but were all taken prisoners, and delivered to *Am-*
phiterus and *Egilocus*. From thence the *Macedons*
passed to *Mytelene*, which was kept by *Chares* of
Athens, with a Garrison of two thousand Per-
ians; but when he was not able to endure the
Siege, he yeilded up the City, on compotition to
have their lives saved, and to depart to *Imbross*.
Darius despairing of peace, which he thought to
have obtained by his Letters and Embassadours,
gave his minde to Muster a new Army, and freshly
to renew the War: Therefore he commanded the
Captains and Rulers of his men to have a Rende-
youze at *Babylon*; and that *Bessus*, Governour of the
Bactrians, should come thither with all the power
he could make. The *Bactrians* are the most hardy
people among those Nations, rough men, and much
abhorring the delicatenes of the *Perians*: For by
reason that they border upon the *Scythians*, which
is a Warlike Nation, they are accustomed to live by
spoil, and are converstant continually in Arms:
But *Bessus*, who was suspected of Treason, affecting
the Kingdom, and who would not be content with
a second place, put *Darius* in great jealousies; who
having an inkling that he aspired to be King, feared
his Treason; *Bessus* having no other way, but by
that, to bring his purpose to pass.

Alexander wrought all the ways he could to ob-
tain

tain knowledge where *Darius* was , and into what Country he was gone ; and yet could not get any intelligence , by reason of a Custom amongst the Persians , who are accustomed , with a marvellous fidelity , to keep close their Princes secrets ; in the uttering whereof , neither fear of death , nor hope of reward , can cause them to bring forth a word . This was an Ancient Discipline which the Kings there used among their Subjects , in punishing , with loss of life , the lavishnes of the tongue , which is there more grievously chaitised then any other crime : Nor is there , in those parts , any Vertue looked for at any mans hands , who hath not the gift of secrecie , wherof Nature hath given a facility in man . This was the cause that *Alexander* was ignorant of all things that his Enemies did ; and therefore continued his Siege before *Gaza* . *Betus* was Captain there , who was a man of notable Fidelity towards his Prince , and with a small Garrison defended the City that was of a large compas : Wherefore *Alexander* perceiving the advantage of the Scituacion , caused many Mines to be made ; for the lightnes of the ground covered the deligne , having neither Rocks nor Stones to give any impediment : They began their Mines on that side where they within could not behold them ; and to avoid the suspition of any such work in hand , he caused an approach to be made to the Walls with Towers that he had made of Timber ; but the ground would not serve for their carrying and removing , by reason of the looseness of the Sand whereinto the Wheels sunk , and was the cause that the Joyns of the Towers brake asunder . About the carriage

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of them many were hurt , and much trouble they had , both in withdrawing of them , and in setting them forwards . When he perceived he cou'd not prevail by that means , he drew off his men for that time : But the next day he environed the City round about , to give an assault on every part at once ; and before he returned out of his Camp , he made Sacrifice , after his Country manner , requiring the aid of the gods . It chanced , as he was so doing , that a Raven flying by , let fall a Clod (which she carried in her Claws) upon the Kings Head , where it brake in pieces , and the Raven flew unto the next Tower , where her feathers were so entangled with pitch , that she could not fly away , but was taken by the standers thereabouts . This was thought a matter worthy on which the Diviners should consult , for he himself was not free from the Superstition of such things : Therefore Aristander , to whom he gave most credit , did interpret the same to be a signe of the destruction of that City ; but yet there was some peril (he said) appearing towards the Kings person : for which cause he perswaded Alexander , that he should not go about any exercise that day . Though it grieved him much , that one City should be a stay and impediment unto him for his free passage into Egypt , yet he obeyed the Prognosticators , and cauted all his men , for that day , to retire . The Enemies took courage at their departure , thinking fear to be the cause why they came not forwards ; and issuing out of the City , they set upon the Rear : But they were more fierce in the beginning of the skirmish , then constant in

the

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the maintaining of it : for when they saw the Macedons rally themselves , they stayed , and pursued no further. *Alexander* hearing the Alarm , and quite forgetting the peril that was prophesied unto him , at his Friends request put on his Armour , (which he was seldom accustomed to do) and resorted thither where the skirmish was most hot . There he was known by a certain *Arabian* , that was one of *Darius* Souldiers , who took upon him a desperate enterprize to kill *Alexander* ; and therefore making his pretence to be as a Fugitive from the Persians , kept his Sword secret underneath his Target , and fell down on his knees before him ; who judging that he had fled to him for succour , commanded that he should be received among his own men : But the *Arabian* therewithal made a violent thrust at the King with his Sword ; which he stepping aside a little , did avoid it from his throat , and cut off the *Arabians* hand that missed of the thrust . *Alexander* then judged , that he had clean escaped the peril that should have chanced to him that day : But (as I think) Destiny cannot be avoided ; for whiles he was eager in fight amongst the foremost , he was shot with an Arrow , which passed through his Corlet , and did stick in his shoulder . *Philip* , his Ehyfitian , did pluck it out , and great abundance of blood did follow , whereof every man was afraid , for so much as they never saw an Arrow pass so far through any Armour before : But he never changed countenance , nor colour ; but cauing the blood to be stanched , and his wound to be wrapped up , continued still in the skirmish amongst the foremost , either suffer-

ing or dissembling his pain. But when the blood that was stayed for the time did break out again, and the wound , which for the newness thereof grieved him not much , began to swell and rankle, as the blood waxed cold ; then he began to faint and fall down , and was taken up by such as were next unto him , and carried into his Tent. *Betis* that perceiyed this , and supposing him to be slain, retired unto the City with great joy and triumph. But *Alexanders* wound being yet unhealed , he caused a Mount to be cast up as high as the top of the Walls, and the Walls to be cast down in divers places by the Miners.

They within made a Counter-work as high as the old Wall , but it did not reach to the height of the Towers made upon the Mount ; so that the inner parts of the City were subject to the shot of the Enemy. But not long after , a Mine, the Wall by it being overthrown, and a breach made , through which the *Macedons* did enter , was the utter losf of the Town ; where *Alexander* pressing on amongst the foremost adventurously , had his leg hurt with a stone : Notwithstanding that , he mounted up by the help of his Weapon (his former wound yet unclosed) and fought amorgt the foremost , being in a great fury , that in the Siege of one City he had received two wounds. *Betis* that had fought notably , and received divers hurts , was forsaken of his own men ; and notwithstanding which , he maintained still the fight , and all his Armour was imbrued with his own blood , and his Enemies : But when he was inclosd round , *Alexander* who was wont to wonder at the Vertue of his Enemies,

mies , being puffed up with an insolent joy , said unto him : Betis, thou shalt not die as thou wouldest thy self ; but whatsoever torments may be invented , believe that thou shalt suffer them . For all which words , there appeared in Betis no token of fear ; but he beheld the King with an undaunted countenance , and would not answer him one word : Whereupon Alexander said ; See you not how obstinate he doth continue ? He will neither kneel , nor so much as ask mercy ; but groans shall break his silence , if nothing else can do it . Thus his Fortune did alter his Nature , and turned his Wrath into Fury : For he cauling Cords to be put through Betis feet , whilst he was alive , did draw him about the City with Horses , glorying in that he did imitate Achilles (of whom he was descended) in the like affliction of his Enemy .

There were slain of the Persians and Arabians ten thousand , and the Victory was not unbloody to the Macedons . This Siege was not so famous through the Nobility of the City , as it was by the double danger the King was in , who making haste to pass into Egypt , sent Amintas with ten Gallies into Macedon , to levy more Souldiers : For though he were always a Conquerour , yet his men were diminished ; and he trusted not so much to the Souldiers of those Countries he had subdued , as he did to his own Nation . The Egyptians being a people that always were offended with the increase of the good fortune of the Persians , who in their Government over them used much pride and covetousness : And therefore seeking all occasions to revolt , had received Amintas , who came

to them rather by way of treaty, then by force: and now especially at *Alexanders* coming, they plucked up their spirits, and assembled a great number to meet him at *Pelusium*, where they judged he would enter.

The seventh day, after he removed from *Gaza*, he came to the place in *Egypt*, which now is called *Alexanders Camp*; from whence he sent his Army unto *Pelusium*, by the Land-way, and he himself, with a choice Band of men, was conveyed thither upon the River of *Nile*. The *Perians* durst not abide his coming, being in doubt the *Egyptians* would revolt: And therefore, when *Alexander* drew near unto *Memphis*, where *Astaces*, *Darius* Lieutenant, was with a power of men, he came over the River to meet *Alexander*; and yeilding himself, he delivered him eight hundred Talents, with all the riches belonging to the King of *Perisia*. From *Memphis* he passed upon the same River into the inward parts of *Egypt*; and so ordered the Government of the Country, that he changed nothing of their Laws and Customs: Which having effected, he had a great desire to worship the Oracle of *Jupiter Hammon*. But it was declared unto him, that it was not possible for him to march with any great number, the Country he had to travel through being spread all over with barren sands, which being heated with the Sun, would burn their feet in such sort, that it should be intollerable for them to travel, not only with the heat and want of water, but also with the rowling sand, which was so deep, and would so sink under their feet, that they should not easily stir. All which difficulties

difficulties the *Egyptians* set forth to be greater than they were indeed. But *Alexander*, for the vehement desire he had to exceed the condition of man, was so fervently bent to visit that famous Oracle of *Jupiter*, whom either he believed, or desired that others should believe to be his Father, that nothing could withhold him in performing of that Enterprize: Therefore with such as he had appointed to accompany him in the journey, he passed by water upon the *Nile*, until he came to the Marsh of *Meotis*. The Embassadors of the *Cyrenians* came to him thither, and brought him Presents; whom he gently entertained, assuring them of his Friendship; which done, he went forward in his Voyage. The first and second days travel seemed tolerable, not being yet come to the barren and desolate Wildernes; and yet the ground they passed on was but unfruitful and barren earth: but when the Plains appeared that were covered over with deep sands, they then looked round about them, and sought for Land, as men be accustomed to do when they sail on the Main Sea; for they could not judge themselves on Land, where they neither saw Tree, nor any appearance of habitation, or haunt of men: And there was no water to be found in that dry and burning place; and such as they had brought with them in Bottles upon Camels backs, was consumed and spent: Besides, the Sun was so hot, that it dried and burned up all things. When they were afflicted after this manner, whether it were by the Will of God, or by chance, the Clouds suddenly overwhelmed the Sky, and so shadowed them, that it was a great comfort

comfort unto such as were wearied with heat, though they wanted water to drink. But to supply their need, there fell by and by a great Shower, which every man (for the great desire he had to drink) gaped to receive with open mouth. When they had travelled four days in travelling these wilde Desarts, and were come near unto the place of the Oracle, there appeared a great swarm of Crows flying low before them; and when the Army marched softly, they late down upon the ground, and sometimes flew forwards, as though they had been Guides to shew unto them the way. At length they came unto the place consecrate unto *Jupiter*, where it was a wonder to see in the midst of so wilde a Desart, a ground so environed on all parts with high Trees, defending the heat of the Sun, and such a number of Springs running every where, which caused the Woods always to look green: The Air, all seasons of the year there, is like unto the Spring-time, wholesome, and temperate. This Country doth border on the *Ethiops*; towards the East; and upon the *Arabians*, whom they call *Troglodites*, upon the South; whose Country stretched to the Red Sea: It confineth on the West with other *Ethiops*, which are called *Simnoes*. Towards the North lieth a Nation, called *Nalamonis*, who inhabiting upon a flat shore, are accustomed to live upon the spoils of the Sea, and lye always in wait, upon the Coalt, to spoil such Ships as suffer wrack: The people which inhabit about the Wood, be called *Ammonians*, and dwell in Cottages scattered abroad: The midst of their Wood, closed about with a triple Wall, is unto them

them a Castle : In the first Ward is the Palace of their Ancient Kings ; in the second their Wives, Children and Concubines were lodged ; in which place the Oracle of *Jupiter* is also ; and the third is a place for their Men of War. There is also another Wood, having a Spring, called *the Fountain of the Sun* ; which in the morning is luke-warm , in the midst of the day cold , and in the evening warm again : at mid-night it is scalding hot ; and as it draweth towards day, it diminisheth his heat more and more.

The same Effigies that is worshipped for *Jupiter* , hath not the similitude of other Images that Crafts-~~men~~ do make for gods , but is very like unto the fashion of a Navel , having in the midst thereof, an Emerald set about with Pearls. When any answer is required , the Priests carry the same in a Ship of Gold , that hath many Plates of Silver hanging on both sides ; the Matrons and the Virgins follow after , singing a strange Song, after their Country manner ; whereby they believe they do oblige *Jupiter* to shew his Oracle manifest and true. When *Alexander* was come unto the place, the Eldest of the Priests , who came to meet him, saluted him in the Name of *Jupiters Son* , for so (he said) his minde was that he should be called : Whereupon *Alexander* forgetting the state of his Mortality , said , That he did both receive and acknowledge the Name. Then he demanded further, If the Empire of the whole World were appointed him by Destiny ? There the Prophet, prepared before to Flattery , answered, That the whole World should come under his Obeysance. After that, he demanded,

demanded, Whether all such had suffered death that had murthered his Father? The Priest answered, That his Father could not be harmed by the Treason of any man; but he said, That all Philips Killers were put to death: And one thing he added more, That he should be Invincible, till such time as he should depart to the gods. Thereupon Alexander made Sacrifice, and both offered unto the Idol, and gave great gifts unto the Priests. He permitted also his Friends to ask Counsel of the Oracle for such things as they would demand: Yet they enquired no further, but if it were Jupiters will that they should worship their King with Divine Honours? To this it was answered, That if they honoured their Victorious Prince as a god, it should be acceptable unto Jupiter. If he had with judgment weighed the Oracle, he might have well perceived the untruth that was therein: but whom Fortune hath brought to believe in her, she maketh them, many times, more desirous of glory, then able to receive it. Alexander not only suffered, but commanded himself to be called the Son of Jupiter: and whilst he went about to encrease the Fame of his Acts, he did corrupt and deface them with such vanity: and the Macedons, accustomed to be governed by Kings, but yet reserving a greater shadow of Liberty then other Nations, did withstand him more obstinately in affecting of his Immortality, then was either expedient for him or them. But these things shall be declared in time convenient: I will proceed to declare the rest of his Acts.

When Alexander was returned from Hammon,
and

and come to the Marsh of *Meotis*, scituate near unto the Isle of *Pharos*, he viewed the nature of the place, and was at the first determined to build a City within the Island: But afterwards, considering the Isle not to be large enough, he chose out the ground where *Alexandria* now standeth (called by the name of the Builder) containing all that ground between the *Mear* and the *Sea*; the walls whereof were in compass eighty furlongs. When he had taken order for the building of this City, leaving such behinde him as he had appointed for the performance thereof, he departed unto *Memphis*. He had a desire (not unreasonable, if it had been in time convenient) to have seen both the inward parts of *Egypt*, and also of *Ethiopia*; and the affection he had to view Antiquities, and the famous places of *Mammon* and *Tyton*, had near drawn him beyond the bounds of the Sun. But the Wars he had in hand being of much more importance then any such idle Peregrination, gave him no time to fulfil his fantasie; therefore he appointed *Astilus* a *Rhodian*, and *Pencetes* a *Macedon*, to the Government of *Egypt*, assigning them four thousand Souldiers for detence of the Country; and gave *Polymen* thirty Galleys to keep the Mouth of *Nile*. He made *Apollonius* Ruler of that part of *Africa* which joyneth unto *Egypt*; and *Cleomines* Receiver of the Tributes in both Countries. This new City was soon replenished with a great multitude; for Commandment was given to all Countries thereabouts, to send Inhabitants unto *Alexandria*. It is said, that when the King, according to the *Macedons* Custom, used the Ceremony

ny of steeping Barley at the raising of the Walls, the Birds came and fed thereupon ; which being taken by many for an unlucky Token , it was answereed by their Diviners , *That there should be great resort of strangers to that City , and that it should give nourishment to many Lands.* As the King went down the River of Nile, *Hector*, the Son of *Parmenio*, desirous to follow him, was drowned ; for the Vessel that carried him sunk , being crowded with over-many men : He strived long with the Stream , but his garments gave impediment to his swimming, so that his breath was near gone before he could recover the shore, where for want of succour he died ; whose unfortunate chance *Alexander* took grievously , as one that did bear him special favour ; and therefore caused his body to be honourably buried.

The death of *Andromachus*, Lieutenant of *Syria*, whom the *Samaritans* had burned alive, was the increase of *Alexanders* sorrow , for the revenge-
ment whereof he made all the haste he could ; and at his coming into *Samaria*, had the Authors of the act delivered into his hands , whom he put to death , and then placed *Mennon* in *Andromachus* Room. He delivered into the *Methinians* hands, *Aristonicus* and *Crijolaus* , who usurped over them, whom they after many grievous torments did hang over their walls : That done, he gave Audience to the Embassadours of the *Athenians*, the *Rhodians*, and the *Scots*. The *Athenians* did gratifie unto him his Victory ; and required, that such *Greeks* as were taken prisoners might be restored to liberty : The *Rhodians*, and the *Scots*, complained of their

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Garrisons : He granted to them all their requests, and restored to the *Mytelens* all their Pledges, increased their Territory and Dominion, in respect of the fidelity they shewed unto him, and gave them security for the money they had employed in the Wars. He gave honour also, according to their deservings, unto the Kings of *Cyprus*, who revolted from *Darius* unto him, and had aided him with Ships at the Siege of *Tyre* : *Amphoterus*, his Admiral, had Commission to drive the *Perians* out of the Isle of *Creet*; but especially, that he should rid the Seas of Pyrates, who troubled and spoiled all the Islands, whilst these two Princes, *Alexander* and *Darius*, converted their Powers the one against the other.

Having ordered these things, he did dedicate to *Hercules*, at *Tyre*, a great standing Goblet, and thirty Bowls of Gold : That done, he set his whole minde and care upon *Darius*, causing it to be proclaimed, that every man should set forwards towards *Euphrates*. But *Darius* understanding that his Enemy was gone through *Egypt* into *Africa*, stood in doubt whether he should stay about *Mesopotamia*, or withdraw into the inner parts of his Kingdom; judging, that he in person should prevail with those remote Nations, in bringing of them forwards to the War, which his Lieutenants shou'd not be so well able to effect : Yet when Fame had published, and he understood by assured advertisement, that *Alexander* was returned out of *Egypt*, and fully resolved to follow him with all his power into what Country soever he should go; he then gave order, that the force of all the furthest Nations should

should draw towards Babylon, knowing the resolution of his Enemy he had to match withal. Thither resorted both *Bactrians*, *Scythians*, and *Indians*; (for the power of other Countries were come thither before) and having the double number of men that he had before in *Cilicia*, he prepared Armour for them with diligence, of which many of them wanted: both Horsemen and Horses were armed with plates of Steel; such as before had no Weapons but Darts, had Swords and Bucklers given unto them; and to increase the power of his Horsemen, he delivered many Horses to be managed and broken by the Footmen. He had prepared also two hundred Waggons set with Hooks, which in those Countries were esteemed things of great force, and judged to be of a wonderful terror to the Enemy: they were made with great long Spikes sticking out before, and with Swords set overthwart on both sides: The Wheels were also full of Iron Pikes right forth, and of great Hooks both upward and downward, wherewith all things were cut in funder that came in their way. When his people were thus furnished with Armour, and provided sufficiently for the Wars, he removed from Babylon, keeping the River of *Tygris* on his right hand, and *Euphrates* on his left hand: He overspread, with his Army, all the Plains of *Mesopotamia*, after that he had passed the River of *Tygris*; and understanding that his Enemy was approaching, he sent *Satropaces* before with a thousand chosen Horsemen, and afterwards appointed six thousand to *Mazeus*, to stop *Alexander* in the passage over the River; who had also Commission

to waste and burn all the Country where he judged his enemies should come, thinking to famish them for want of victuals, considering that they had no other provisions but what they got by plundering and by stealth; they themselves having plenty brought of all things, both by Land and the River *Tigris*. At length he came to a village called *Arbella*, which afterwards was famous by reason of his overthrow. There he left the greatest part of his Victuals and Carriage, and made a Bridge over the River of *Licus*, and in five days conveyed over his Army, as he had done before over *Euphrates*: passing forwards from thence about fourscore furlongs, he came to another City called *Boumello*, and there encamped. This Country served wonderful well for aranging of his Battels in the large Plains, passable for Horses everywhere, and without shrubs, or short brush to cover the ground withal, having so free a prospect, that the eye might discern things a great way off. And if there appeared any Hills within the Plain, *Darius* caused the same to be cast down, and to be made level to the ground. Such as by conjecture made report to *Alexander* of *Darius* power, could not be credited; for he could not think after so many slain, there could be a greater power gathered together then he had before.

But he that doubted not any peril, much less the multitude of them, after the eleventh encamping came to the River of *Euphrates*, over the which he made Bridges, passing over his horsemen, and afterwards his footmen. For *Mazens* that was sent against him with six thousand horsemen to hinder

his passage, durst not encounter him. When he had continued there a few days, not only to rest his Souldiers, but also to confirm their mindes, and to encourage them, he set forwards resolutely against his enemies, fearing that they would have retired back into the inward parts of *Perſia*, where he should have been inforced to follow them by waste places and desarts. Therefore the fourth day he passed by *Arbella*, and came to the River of *Tygris*. All the Country beyond the River was on a smoak, newly set on fire by *Mazeus*, who burned all things where he came, even as he had been an enemy. *Alexander* at the first, by reason of the darknes of the fimbak, stayed for fear of Ambushments. But when they which were sent to scour the Country, reported that all things were clear, he appointed a few horsemen to prove the passage of the River, who found the deepness at the first entry to come to the horse breast, and in the midit of the stream to the horse neck. There is no River in all the East part of the world that runneth so violently, which besides that the waters of other Rivers do run into it, driveth down stones with the stream; so that of its swiftness it is called *Tygris*, which in the *Persian* tongue is to lay an Arrow. The footmen thereof divided into two Bands, and holding their Armour over their heads, were inclosed on both sides with the horsemen, and so passed, till they came to the deep of the channel, without any great difficulty. The King was the first amongst the footmen that passed over to the further side, who (with his hand, seeing his voice could not be heard) shewed the shallow places unto the Souldiers. But they had much to do

to keep their footing, by reason of the stones where-upon they stumbled, and of the violence of the water that took their feet away. Such as carried burthens on their backs had the greatest travel, not being able to stay themselves by reason of the trouble of their carriage, were born down by violence of the stream. And whilst every man went about to recover again his own; there fell greater strife amongst themselves, then they had with the stream; and the heaps of fardels that every where flowed upon the water, bare down many of them. The King cryed to them, that it was sufficient to keep their arms, and let the rest go, promising to recompence every man: but they neither followed his counsel, nor did as he commanded them; for besides the noise that was amongst them, Fear filled their ears as they were swimming and wading through the water. At length where the stream was most shallow they came forth, there being nothing miscarried or wanting amongst them all, saving a few fardles. If their enemies had made but a proffer against them, they might easily have been put to distretts. But Alexander's good fortune turned his enemies away from him, with which success he passed the River of *Granike*, when so many thousands of horsemen and footmen kept the passage against him. After that manner he overcame the multitude of his enemies in the Streights, of *Cilicia*. Though his hardines were such, that it sometimes wanted praise, yet his felicity ever delivered him out of all extremity of peril.

If *Mazeus* had done his part, and set upon them as they were passing the River, he might ea-

fly have put them to distress, being unarmed and out of order; but after the *Macedons* had armed themselves (being then too late), he began to shew himself with a thousand Horsemen. When *Alexander* perceived the small number that came against him, he caused *Ariston* Captain of the *Paeonians* to give a full charge upon them. The Horsemen that day notably behaved themselves, but especially *Ariston*, who with his Spear ran *Satropates* the chief Captain through the throat, and pursuing him into the midst of his Troop, threw him from his horse, and cut off his head, which to his great commendation he brought and threw down before the King. *Alexander* tarried there two days, and on the morrow caused warning to be given by Proclamation for his setting forwards. But in the first watch of the night the Moon suffered an Eclipse; and losing her brightness, became afterwards red as blood, and then waxed dim and dark: The strangeness of this light did strike a religious fear amongst the *Macedons*, wherof proceeded such a doubt and dread, that they fell into a muttering, why they should be brought forwards in such a manner against the will of the gods into the uttermost bounds of the Earth, where they could neither pass the Rivers, nor enjoy the accustomed use of the Elements, finding nothing but waste grounds and wilde desarts. all which was endured (they said) for the ambition of one man; for whose vain-glory the blood of so many thousands should be shed. He despiseth (said they) his own Country, he hath forsaken *Philip* for his Father, and hath affronted Heaven in his foolish imagination

gination. And now it was come near unto Edition, when *Alexander*, that in all things was without fear, commanded the chief Rulers and Captains of his men of War to assemble at his Pavilion, and there commanded the Altronom. rs of the *Egyptians* (whom he judged to have most understanding of the Planets) to declare their opinions. They understanding very well the revolutions of the time, and their appointed courses, knew that the Moon was ever eclipsed, when that either she was underneath the earth, or else when her light was blemished by opposition of the Sun; which reason reserved amongst themselves, they accustome not to acquaint the people with it. But affirm that the Greeks were under the Aspect of the Sun, and the Persians under the Moon: and therefore so often as the Moon faileth of her light, it signified great destruction unto the Nations under that constellation. And to confirm that opinion of theirs, they brought in old Presidents of the Kings of Persia, to whom the eclipse of the Moon had signified that the gods were against them in fighting of their Battell. There is nothing more effectual then superstition to govern a multitude, which otherwise is without rule, tumultuous, and mutable: but when they have once conceived a religion, though it be but vain, they are more obedient to their Diviners, than to their Captains; which thing might be well perceived, when the answers of the *Egyptians* were divulged amongst the people. For they straightways were removed from their dulness and despair, and stirred up to hope and confidence.

Alexander therefore that could use the time, and employ his Souldiers in their good mood, in the second watch removed their camp, keeping *Tybris* on his right hand, and the Mountains which they call *Gordian* on his left: By break of day the Scouts that he sent before to discover the enemy, returned to him with report of *Darius* his coming: then the Souldiers prepared themselves to fight, and marched forwards in order of battel. But those who were discoverers for the *Perians* were a thousand horsemen, who seemed to the *Macedons* to be a great Army. The Scouts commonly have that property, that when they cannot finde out the truth, they imagine through fear things that be false. When Alexander understood the certainty, he sent towards them a small number of his own horsemen, at whose coming they fled, and were partly slain, and part of them taken prisoners. That done, he sent forth another party, as well to discover further, as also to quench the fire which the *Perians* had made through all the Country; for as they fled away they put fire into the roofs of their houles, and the stacks of Corn, which soon took hold above, and consumed all, till it came to the ground. By the extinguishing of those fires, great plenty of Corn was preserved, and abundance of all other things ensued amongst the *Macedons*: this was a motive which encouraged the Souldiers greatly to pursue their enemies; for they doubting that they might burn and consume all such things as might serve to their use, pursued them with all the speed they could make, providence growing from necessity. For *Mæcenus*, who before did burn the Country at leisure,

when

when he saw himself pursued, fled away, and left unto the *Macedons* the greater part untouched.

Alexander understanding that *Darius* drew towards him, and was come within an hundred and fifty furlongs, made provision of Victuals, and remained four days in the same place. *Darius* Letters were there intercepted, which he had written to the *Greeks*, in perswasion either to kill or betray *Alexander*. He doubted whether he should recite the same Letters openly, or no, having no mistrust of their fidelity and affection towards him. But *Parmenio* dissuaded him from acquainting the Souldiers with any such promises of *Darius*, considering that the committing of such an act consisted in one mans hands, and that covetousnes never judged any thing unlawful. He followed *Parmenio*'s counsel, and so removed his Camp. As they were marching, one of the Eunuches that attended upon *Darius* wife, brought word how she fainted, and was in great peril of death; for she in very deed was so wearied with continual travel and affection of minde, that she fell down in a swound betwixt her mother-in-law and her young daughter, and so died. He had no sooner reported it, but another came with tydings that she was dead indeed: whereat *Alexander* was no less sorrowful than if his own mother had been in the same condition; and weeping no less then *Darius* should have done, he repaired into the Tent where *Darius* mother was sitting by the dead body: his sorrow there renewed, when he saw her lie prostrate upon the ground, that present misfortune calling to minde her passed calamities: she took in her arms

Darius two Daughters, a comfort to her in their mutual dolour, but that she was enforced to comfort them. Her young Grand-child stood in her presence, the more to be pitied, because that for his youth he yet understood not the calamity that was growing on him. A man would have thought, that *Alexander* had wept for his own cause; he lamented and would receive no comfort, but abstained from meat, and commanded all honour to be done to the dead corps after the Country-custome of the *Persians*. Worthy he was thereby to receive the due reward of his meekness and continency. He had only seen her once before, which was on the day she was taken, and then came not to visit her, but *Darius* mother; the excellency of her beauty was no provokement to him of lust, but of glory. Of thole Eunuches that were about the Queen, there was one *Tyriates*, who during this lamentation escaped by a Gate that was unwarded, and fled unto the *Persians* Camp, where he was by the Watchmen brought to *Darius* presence. When *Darius* saw him lamenting and tearing his cloaths, he was in a labouring expectation what his sorrow shoulde be, doubting what thing he might fear most. *I by countenance* (quoth he) *declarcth that some great mischief is happened: Take heed thou conceal nothing from my miserable ears: I have learn'd to be unfortunate, and it's often-times a comfort to a man in his calamity to know his mishap.* Is it not the misusing of my wife and children, that thou wouldest inform me with? Which is the thing that I sufficiest me, and fear to utter; and which (as I believe) is also most grievous unto him. Neither less (quoth *Tyriates*) the same honour

honour that was given unto them by your Subjects, the like is used by him that is the Conquerour : But your wife is the cause of my amazement, who is even now dead.

When that word was once spoken, there was nothing but lamentation and mourning throughout the Camp ; and Darius could not be otherwise perswaded, but that she was slain, because she would not consent to her misusement ; and in the vehemency of his sorrow, cried out :

O Alexander, what so great an offence have I committed against thee ? Whom of thy kindred have I slain, that thou shouldest requite me with this cruelty ? Thou hast done it without any provokement of my part. But be it so that thou doft move a just war against me, is it thy part therefore to make war with women ?

Tyriotes thereupon did swear by the immortal gods, that there was no kinde of villany done unto her, but that Alexander lamented her death, and wept no less then he himself would have done. Those wrods did diive him into a further suspicion and jealousie, conjecturing that Alexander's behaviour had proceeded from the familiar conversation had betwixt them. Therefore he commanding all persons from him saving only Tyriotes, that lies can take no place, Torments straightways shall be brought before thee : I require thee therefore, if any reverence of thy Prince remain within thy heart, tell me without compulsion the thing that I desire to know, and am ashamed to enquire. Is it possible , being of the age that he is , and having her in his hands, that he shouldest not attempt her ? Tyriotes offered himself to be racked in tryal

of the cause, and called the gods to witness, that she was never used but chastly and reverently. At length, when he was thoroughly perswaded that his words were true; he covered his face, weeping a long space, and afterwards the tears yet distilling down his cheeks, uncovered it, and holding up his hands to Heaven, said :

O you gods, whom I worship, I require you chiefly to establish this Kingdom unto myself: but if you have determined my ruine and decay, then my request is, that none may reign as King in my Dominion, but even he that is so just an Enemy, and so merciful a Conquerour.

And therefore, though he had twice before required peace at Alexander's hands, and prevailed not, but had converted all his minde towards the Wars; yet he was then so overcome with the contynency of his enemy, that he sent twelve of the chiefeſt of his blood as Ambassadours to treat with him upon conditions of peace: Alexander calling a Council, gave them audience, to whom the eldest spake in this manner :

That Darius bath now the third time demanded peace of you, no power bath compelled him, but your justice and contynency bath invited him unto it. He cannot perceive that either his Mother, his Wife, or Children were prisoners, saving for the want of their company. You take care of their chastities which remain alive, like a Father; You give to them the honour appertaining to them, and suffer them to continue in their former estate. I see that sadness in your countenance which I saw in Darius when I parted from him, and yet he doth mourn for his Wife, and you for your Enemy:

Enemie : and if the care of her burial had not been, you had now stood in Battel in readiness to fight against him. Is it any marvel therefore if he require peace of such a man, that is so friendly disposed towards him ? What shall they need to contend with arms, between whom there remaineth no hatred ? In his former Treaty he offered that the River of Alys, which boundeth upon Lydia, should be the Confines of your Empire : but now he proffereth you in Dower with his Daughter to be delivered out of hand all those Countries that lie between Hellespont and Euphrates. For the performance of which his Promise, and for the observing of Peace, Occhus his Son now in your possession shall be the pledge for his part. His request is, to have his Mother and his two Daughters restored unto him, for which you shall receive thirty thousand Talents. Except I knew the moderation that is in you, I would not be so bold to say that this is a time when you ought not only to grant peace, but also to seek for it your self : Look back and behold what a great thing you leave bebinde you, and foresee how much it is that you covet before you. An Empire over-great is dangerous, and it is hard to hold that which you are not able to receive. Do you not see, that those Ships which be of exceeding greatness, cannot well be governed ? Judge that to be the cause that Darius lost so much, because that overmuch is the occasion of much loss : It is more easie to get many things, then to keep a few. How much more easily do our Hands catch, then hold fast ? The very Death of Darius wife now doth shew, that you have not so great occasion to shew mercy as you had before.

The Embassadours did withdraw into another place, and he debated in Councel his opinion. It was

was long before any durst utter what they thought, because they were uncertain how the King was inclined : at length *Parmenio* spake, and said :

My opinion was ever, that the prisoners taken at Damascus should have been delivered to such as would redeem them, whereby a great sum of money might have been made of them, who now remaining in captivity, trouble the hands of many a man of service. And now I think most necessary of all, that you exchange for thirty Talents of Gold, this old Woman, and the two young Damzels, which be but impediments and disturbance to your marches. Here is a rich Realm to be gotten by Treaty, without any hazard of Battel. For there was never any before you (quoth he) that was Lord of all the Countries in length and breadth lying between Iter and Euphrates. He willed him therefore rather to have respect towards Macedonia, then to look forward towards Bactria and the Indians.

These words liked not the King ; and therefore so soon as *Parmenio* had made an end of his Speech, he made this answer : *And if I were Parmenio, I would rather desire Money, then Glory. But now seeing I am Alexander, I am not in any doubt of poverty, and have in consideration, that I am a King, and no Merchant : I have nothing whereof I will make Sale, I will much less sell my Fortune. If I were in minde to deliver the Prisoners, it were much better to give them freely, then to ransome them for money.*

Hereupon he called the Embassadours, and answered them in this sort :

Shew

Show you to Darius, that giving of thanks is needless to an enemy, and let him not think that I have had any respect to his friendship in those things that I have done of mine own clemency and liberality. Nor let him impute the same in any wise towards himself, but to the inclination of mine own nature; and that I contend not against mens calamities, but against the force of mine Enemies. I use not so make war with women and prisoners; for he must be armed to whom I shall owe my hatred. And though it were so indeed, that he meant good faith in his peace asking, yet peradventure I would take advice before I would consent. But seeing that at one time he hath provoked my Souldiers to betray me, and at other times stirred up my friends with money to destroy me, I must pursue him to the uttermost, not as a righteous enemy, but as one that worketh his ends by treason. If I should accept the condition of peace that you do bring, I should acknowledge him to be Conquerour. His liberality doth give me all that is behinde the River of Euphrates, not considering in what place I speak now unto you. Have you forgotten that I am passed the River of Euphrates, and incamped beyond the bounds ye priffer me in Dourry? Drive me from hence, that I may know the same to be yours, wherewith you would infest me. He proffreth me his Daughter with no greater liberality then he would do to one of his Servants. Doth he think to doe me a pleasure in preferring me to be his Son-in-law before Mæcetus? Go and shew this to your King, that both what he hath lost, and what he hath yet in possession, shall be unto me therewards of the War, which shall determine the bounds of both our Empires, and by the fortune of the battle which we shall fight to morrow, appoint to each of us

our limits. Let him know, that I came not into Asia to receive, but to give. If he would have been content to have been the second person, and not coveted to be equal with me, I would peradventure have granted his request. But as two Suns cannot shine on the Earth at once, so likewise two such great Kingdoms cannot be at one time, without the subversion of the world. Therefore let him either this day yield himself, or else prepare against the morrow's fight; nor let him persuade himself to have any other fortune than what he hath proved already.

The Embassadors replied: That seeing he was resolved to proceed with War, he did Royally that he was plain unto them, and did not feed them with hope of peace. Their request was therefore that they might be dispatched to their Prince, to warn him to prepare himself likewise. When they returned, there was no way but to prepare for the fight. Wherefore *Darius* sent for *Mazeus* with three thousand horsemen to keep the passages by which the *Macedons* should pass. When *Alexander* had performed the Funerals of *Darius*' wife, leaving a small guard behinde, with all such as were unprofitable for the fight, he set forward towards his Enemies. His footmen were divided into two Battels, empaled with horsemen on both sides, and his carriages were placed in the midst. He sent *Medinas* with horsemen upon the spurs to discover where *Darius* was; but he not daring to adventure far, because *Mazeus* was there strongly quartered, returned back and reported, that there was nothing to be heard but the noyse of men and the neighing of horses. *Mazeus* also (the Scouts of *Alexander* being

being discovered) gave intelligence to *Darius* of the approach of the enemy: *Darius*, who desired to try the event of the Battel in the open Plains, commanded his Souldiers to be armed, and put his Army in array of Battel. Two thousand of the *Bacrian* and the *Cahan* horse, and four thousand of the *Arachosians* and *Susians* did make the left Wing: These were followed by a hundred hooked Chariots. Next unto them was *Bessus* with a thousand *Bacrian* horse, and two thousand of the *Mes-sagetae* did back him on his rear. To these the foot of many Nations, not mixed, but in distinct Regiments, did joyn their formidable power: after them *Ariobarzanes* and *Oriobates*, with the *Mardians* and *Sogdians*, did bring up the Army of the *Perfians*. This part of *Darius* Army was commanded in chief by *Orsines*, descended from seven *Perfian* Kings, and deriving also his Original from the noble King *Cyrus*. There were other Nations that followed these, but hardly known to their own Neighbours. After whom, *Gradites* having fifty hooked Chariots, placed a Band of *Cassian* horsemen before them, and behinde them were the *Indians* and the other inhabitants of the red Sea, rather names of men then good assistance. This square was also empaled with the other fifty Chariots, unto the which the mercenary Souldiers were joyned: after them followed the men of *Armenia* the less, then the *Babylonians*, and next the *Bellicans*, with such as inhabit the *Cossean Mountains*. The *Gortuans* came next, who sometime followed the *Medians* out of *Euboia*; but at those days degenerated from their Country-customs. The *Phrygians*, *Cathonians* and *Parthians* did close the rear.

In the Battel on the right hand were the people of the greater Armenia, the Cadusians, Cappadocians and Medians, who had fifty hooked Chariots: the sum of his whole Army was forty five thousand horsemen, and two hundred thousand footmen. When they were placed in order of Battel, they marched forward ten furlongs, and then were commanded to make a halt. Whilst the Persians after that manner tarried for their Enemies, there fell a sudden fear amongst the Macedons, whereof there appeared no cause; and yet every man was amazed, and a secret dread entred into their hearts. The lightning that fell out of the air, it being in the Summer-season, seemed like fire, and the flames suddenly appearing were thought to come from Darius Camp. If Mazens, who was sent out to observe their coming, had set upon them while they were in this fear, he might have performed some notable act. But he was slow in the enterprize, and remained upon the top of an Hill, contented that he was not assailed.

Alexander perceiving the terroure that invaded his Souldiers, made a signe for them to slay, and gave order that they should unarm themselves, and refresh their bodies; giving them to understand, that there was not any cause why they should entertain so vain a fear, seeing their Enemies were yet a good distance from them. At length, when he perceived they had recovered their spirits, he exhorted them to receive courage, and put on their armour; but yet he thought nothing more expedient then to fortifie his Camp in the same place. The next day Mazens, who had planted himself on a high

a high Hill, from whence he might behold his Enemies Camp , either for fear , or else because his Commission was but only to discover the motion of his Enemies , returned again unto *Darius*. Upon his departure , the *Macedons* immediately possessed themselves of the Hill which he had forsaken , the same being of more strength then the Plain where they remained before , from whence they might behold their Enemies Camp . And though the Mist which the moist Hills did cast forth , took not away clearly the use of their prospect , yet it hindred them to discern the division of their Enemies Battels , and their order : their multitude overspread the fields ; and the noise of their number did fill their ears , though they were far off. Then *Alexander* begun to revolve in his minde , and to debate with himself one while *Parmenio*'s Opinion , and another time his own ; for he was come so far forth , that he could not retire , except he were Victorious , without the great destruction of his Army. The multitude of his Enemies moved him much , in respect of his small numbers : Yet on the other part , remembred what great Acts he had done with them , and how many Nations he had vanquished : So that his hope surmounting his fear , he thought it of all most dangerous to defer the Battel any longer , lest desperation should grow amongst his men ; and therefore dissembling the matter , he caused the Mercenary Horsemen , and the Peons , to pass on before , and divided his *Phalanx* (as it hath been said) into two Battels , and impaled the same with Horsemen on both sides. By that time the Mist vanished , and it wax-

ing clear, the order of his Enemies manifestly appeared.

The *Macedons* then, whether it were of courage, or for that they were impatient to tarry any longer, made such a shout as men of War use when they joyn in Battel: The like was also made by the *Persians*. Then the Woods and Valleys rebounded with the terrible sound: The *Macedons* could not abstain any longer, but would have gone forwards towards their Enemies: But *Alexander* thought it better to fortifie his Camp upon that Hill; and so commanded it to be intrenched about: Which work being speedily performed, he entred into his Tent, from whence he might behold the Field Marhsalled, and the whole Army of his Enemies embattelled; then the fashion and form of the danger that was at hand, was presented before his eyes; both Horsemen and Footmen glistered in their bright Armour, and all things were prepared with extraordinary diligence. He beheld the care of the Captains in his Enemies Camp, how they did ride up and down to set things in order: And many things that were but vain indeed (as the noise of Men, the neighing of Horses, and the glistering of their Armour) troubled yet the minde that was careful in expectation of the event: Therefore whether it were that he was not fully resolvled in his minde, or else to prove the resolutions of such as were about him, a Council of War was called to advise what was best to do. *Parmenio*, who was the most experienced among all the Captains in the feats of War, thought it good not to give his Enemies open Battel, but rather to set upon them in

the dead time of the night , whereby he thought they might easily be discomfited ; supposing , that they among whom there was such diversity of Customs , and alteration of Language , could never rally well together , especially when in the dead of night they should have their quarters beaten up ; whereas in the day time , the shape of the *Scythians* and *Bactrians* , with their rough faces , and long hair , beside the hugeness of their bodies , should appear terrible . He alledged , how Souldiers were more moved with the vain causes of fear , and such as were of no moment , then with such as were just causes indeed . He declared also , how their Enemies , by reason of their great multitude , should be able to inclose their small number round about ; and that they should not now fight in the *Streights* , and narrow passages of *Cilicia* , but in an open and large Plain .

They all , in a manner , agreed to *Parmenio* ; and *Polipercon* was directly of Opinion , that the Victory conlisteth on the following of that counsel . The King , that before had upbraided *Parmenio* more bitterly then was expedient , would not check him again , but beheld *Polipercon* , and said :

That Policy that you advise me , pertaineth to Robbers and Felons , for it is their propriety to work by darkness and deceit ; I will no more suffer , that either Darius absence , the streightness of the ground , or the stealth in the night , shall be an binderance to my glory . I am plainly determined to fight with him in the open day ; and had rather repent me of my Fortune , then be ashamed of my Victory : Besides , this is to be considered , that the Persians keep good Watch , and

stand armed always in a readiness to receive us, whereof I have advertisement, so that they cannot be deceived that way; therefore there doth remain no more, but that you prepare your selves to the Battel.

When he had by these words put them into courage, he dismissed them from Counsel, to refresh their bodies. *Darius* conjecturing, that his Enemies would have done that which *Parmenio* did perswade, caused the Horses to stand ready bridled the whole night, and the most part of his Host to continue armed, and to keep good watch. His Camp shone bright with the fires that were made, and he himself, with his Captains and Kinsfolks, went about his Souldiers that stood in order and in Arms, making invocation to the *Sun*, to *Mars*, and to the *Everlasting Fire*, that they would inspire into them a fortitude of minde, that might answer to the Ancient Glory, and the Acts of their Predecessors: And declared, if the minde of man were able to conceive any tokens or signes of the gods favour or assistance, it was no doubt but that they were bent on their side, having already stricken a sudden fear amongst the *Macedons*, which (he said) might be seen by their running here and there, by the carrying and casting off their Armour; and that the gods, which took care of the *Persians* Empire, were now determined to punish their Cowards, whose Captains (quoth he) being of no other sort then the rest, are like unto those wilde Beasts, which through the greediness of the prey that they do covet, do fall into the snares that are set for them.

The like care was amongst the Macedons ; for as though the matter should have been tryed that night, they passed it over in doubt and fear. Alexander himself (that was never seen in such fear before that time) called for Arystander to make vows and prayers ; who, in a white Garment , carrying *Verbenes* in his hand, with his head covered , went before the King, calling upon *Jupiter*, *Minerva*, and *Victoria*. When he had thus performed his Sacrifice , according to their Religion , he returned into his Pavilion to rest the residue of the night ; yet he could neither rest, nor sleep , but continually debated with himself , which way he should assail his Enemies : One while he was of Opinion, to give his first On-set upon that Battel of the *Perians* that should come on his right hand , sometimes he determined to meet his Enemies in the very front, and otherwhile whether it were better to encounter them on their left Battel. At length his body became heavy with the travel of his minde , and he fell into a sound sleep . When the day appeared, the Captains assembled about the Kings Pavilion, to receive their charge , where they stood amazed at the unaccustomed silence : For they could not but wonder, that he who was ever wont to call upon other men, and to reprove such as were slow or negligent, not to be then stirring in the extremity of the utmost danger : And many were of opinion, that he slept not, but shrank for fear; yet for all that, none of them that were about his person durst attempt to wake him. In the mean season, the morning past away , and the Souldiers might neither put on thir Armes, nor stand in

order of Battel, without commandment of their Chief. When they had thus tarried a great while, Parmenio gave commandment that they should fall to meat. At length, when the time came, that of necessity the Army must be drawn into Battel, he entred into the Kings lodging, and called upon him divers times by his name; but when he could not awake him with his voice, he stirred him with his hand, and said :

It is far forth day, and your Enemies come forwards in order of Battel, and your Souldiers being yet unarmed, have not commandment given them what they should do; Where is that chearfulness and courage of yours become, which were wont to stir up even those who were most watchful?

Alexander made answer unto him :

Think you that I could sleep before that I had rid my self of the care that bindred me to take my rest? And thereupon caused the Trumpet to sound to the Battel.

But when Parmenia continued still in his admiration, that he in such a time could sleep so quietly; *It is no marvel (quoth Alexander) when Darius burnēd the Country, wasted the Villages, and destroyed the Victuals, I could then in no wise be quiet. But now what cause have I to fear, seeing he now preparēth himself to fight? He hath more fulfilled my desires, resort you where your charge lieth, and I will straightway come to give order amongst you, and we will dispute this business afterwards.*

He used seldom to take his friends advice when any doubt or danger was at hand. When Parmenio was gone, he armed himself, and came forwards amongst

amongst his Souldiers: They seeing him look so chearfully as they had not seen before time, conceived by the courage of his countenance a certain hope of the Victory: Then he caused the Trenches of his Camp to be cast down, that the Souldiers might have free passage forth; and in this manner did set his Battels in order. The Horsemen, of whom *Clitus* was Captain, were set in the wing on his right-hand Battel, to whom he joyned *Philotas*, and other Captains. The last Band of Horsemen was *Meleagres*, which were next unto the square Battel of Footmen, that the *Meleagres* name *Phalanx*: After the *Phalanx*, followed the *Agaraspides*, of whom *Nicanor*, the Son of *Pammenis*, was Captain: *Cenus*, with his Band, was appointed to be a Relief: *Horeetes* and *Linceutes* advanced next; and after them *Polipercon*, that had the Rule of the Strangers; and *Phylagrus*, who had the Rule of the *Balaerons*: And this was the order of *Alexanders* Battel in the right wing, whereof *Amintas* was Chief.

In the left Battel, *Craterus* had the charge of the *Peloponnesian* Horsemen; and with him also were the Bands of the *Achaeans*, *Locrensiens*, and *Malians*; and the hindmost Troops were the Horsemen of *Thessaly*, under *Philip* their Captain. Thus the Horsemen covering the Foot, made the Front of the Battel: And lest their Enemies, through their multitude, shoud inclose the Battel about, he planted a great Force behinde for a Reserve, and set a Relief also upon the Wings; not in Front with the rest, but upon the sides; to the intent, that if the Enemies attempted to compass round

about the Battels, they should be ready to keep them in action.

Those that maintained the places of Reserves, were the *Agrians*, of whom *Attalus* was Captain, and the Archers of *Creet* were joyned unto them : Such as stood in the Rear of the Battel, were ordered to turn their faces from the Frontwards, because that being in a readiness every way, the Battels in every place should be of an equal force. They which stood with their faces contrariwise, were the *Illyrians*, and the *Mercenary* Souldiers, with the *Thracians* that were light armed. These his Battels were so aptly set to move every way, that such as stood in the hinder parts could not be inclosed about, but might every way make their Front : so the Front, the Flanks, and the Rear, were all of like force. When he had set his men in order after this manner, he gave Commandment, that if the *Persians* should attempt upon them with their Hooked Waggons with a cry, or noise, that then they should open their Battels, and receive them with silence, not doubting but that they should pass through without any harm, if no man did resist them : But if they should come without any shout or clamour, that then they themselves should make a cry to fear the Horses withal ; and so with Pikes thrust thein through on every side. They which had the charge of Battels, were commanded to extend them so much in breadth as possible they might, lest by standing over-close, they might be environed ; and yet not to stretch them so far out, as to leave the Ranks void, and thin in the midst. The Carriage, and the Prisoners (amongst whom,

Darius

Darius Mother was one) were set in the top of an Hill, with a small Guard about them. The charge of the left Battel was committed unto Parmenio, as was accustomed before-time, and Alexander himself was in the Main Body.

When they were drawn near to one another, one *Byon* came flying from the Persian Host in a full gallop, and declared unto the King, that *Darius* had planted iron Gallops where he thought his Horsemen should pass; and by a certain signe, shewed him the place, because it might be avoided: *Alexander* willed the Fugitive to be kept safe, and assembled all his Captains together, declaring the matter, and exhorting them to make their Soldiers privy to the danger, for eschewing the place pointed out to them: But all that were in so great an Army could not hear the warning given; the noise of both Armies taking away the use of the ears. But *Alexander* riding betwixt the Battels, gave Exhortation to the Captains, and to all other that were within hearing.

He declared, that there was but one hazard remaining to them that had passed through so many Countries in hope of the Victory, which they were now ready to fight for: Thereupon he reduced to their memory the Battels they had fought at the River of Granike, in the Mountains of Cilicia; and with what speed they had passed over both Syria and Egypt: The rehearsal whereof put them in great hope, and did intice them forwards to the desire of glory. He shewed, that the Persians being withdrawn from their former flying, were now compelled to fight of necessity, because they could

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fly no further ; and how that three days together, amazed for fear, they had remained still in one place with their Armour on their backs ; of whose despair (he said) there could be no greater argument , then that they had set on fire their own Country , confessing all to be their Enemies that they destroyed not . He exhorted them not to fear the vain name of unknown Nations ; for it was a thing nothing pertinent , which were called *Seyshians* , or which *Caducians* ; for being unknown Nations , it was a sure token that they were men of no valour , because such as be valiant could never be unknown in the world : And contrariwise , Dastards , when they come forth of their Dungeons , bring nothing with them but names of men ; whereas you (quoth he) that be *Macedons* , have obtained by your Vertue and Manhood , that there is no Country in the world ignorant of your Acts . He willed them to behold the evil order that was in their Enemies Host , of whom some had no weapon but a Dart , others a Sling to cast stones , and very few had such Armour as they ought to have : So that though there was a great number on the other part , yet he said , they had more on their side when they should come to fight hand to hand ; and that for his part he would not require any man to adventure himself , except he were an example to him of Fortitude and Courage ; for he assured them , that he would be seen fighting with the foremost ; knowing that so many wounds as he should get , should be so many ornaments to his person : He said , they themselves knew that he would be no partaker of the prey ; but that it was ever his custom , to be-

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stow the rewards of his Victory upon the Souldiers. His former words he shewed to be spoken to men of courage ; but if any were of another temper , he was to inform them , that they were come unto the place from whence they could not fly , having left so many Countries behinde them which they had passed over , and so many Rivers and Mountains at their backs ; so that now there was no way to their own houses and Native Country , but such as they must make open with their own hands.

This was the Exhortation he gave unto the Captains , and to such of the Souldiers as were next unto him. *Darius* ; that was in his left-hand Battel , accompanied with a choice Band of Horsemen and of Footmen , despised the small number of his Enemies , their Battels appearing to him thin , and void of men , when he saw their Wings stretched so far abroad : He stood therefore on his Chariot on high , and turning himself both on the right hand and the left , he spake in this manner to such as were about him :

We that were not long since Lords of all the Countries lying between Hellespont and the Ocean Sea , are compelled now to fight ; not for Fame and Glory , but for our Safeguard , and our Liberty , which chiefly is to be esteemed : This day shall either establish or make an end of the greatest Empire that hath been in any Age . At the River of Granike we fought with a small part of our Power : When we were vanquished in Cilicia , Syria was able to receive us , and the Rivers of Tigris and Euphrates were as Bull-warks to defend our Kingdom : But now we are come to that extremity , that

that we have no place to fly unto if we be put to flight : All things behinde our backs are wasted with this long War ; neither Cities are inhabited, nor men left to till the ground : Our Wives and our Children do follow this Army, a prey ready for our Enemies, except we putt our bodies for the defence of such as be dear unto us. So much as bath concerned me, I have performed, preparing such an Army as this huge Plain is able to receive. I have distributed amongst you Horse and Armour, providing that Victuals shoule not be wanting for such a multitude, and have chosen an apt place to arange our Battels in : All the rest remaineth in your hands ; do but dare to fight , and the Victory is yours ; and despise you the Fame of the Enemy, which is but a weak weapon against men of Valour : It is rashness which hitherto ye have feared as a Vertue, whereof when the first brunt is spent, it waxeth dull , as are Drones having once lost their stings. This Plain hath disclosed their small number , which the Mountains of Cilicia did bide : You see how empty their Ranks are , how thin their Wings be extended abroad , how their Battels be empty and void of men, and such as are in the Rear have already turned their backs : They may be overthrown with your Horses feet, though I send none against them but the Hooked Waggones : And if we win the Battel , we make an end of the War, for they have no place to fly to : They are shut in with Tygris on the one side, and with Euphrates on the other ; and such things as before made for their purpose, now are turned, and do make clear against them : Our Army is light, and without much Baggage, and they are laden with preys and booties ; we shall kill them as they are wrapt in spoile : And the same

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one thing shall be both our gain and the cause of our Victory. If any of you be moved with the Fame of the Nation, you must think that the Armour, with the outward shew, and not the bodies of the Macedons, are there present; we have consumed so much of their blood since the War began: And seeing they are but few, their loss must needs be to them the greater. For how great soever Alexander doth seem to them that are Cowards, he is but a man, and if you trust me, both rash and without consideration; and hitherto more fortunate through our fear, then by his own valour. There is nothing can continue that is not governed by reason; for though Fortune seems to favour for a while, yet at last she will not support his rashness: Besides that, the estate of things are full of change, and no man bath a perpetual felicity. It may be that the providence of the gods have so ordained it, that the Empire of the Persians, increased with such prosperous success by the space of two hundred and thirty years, and brought to so great a height of fortune, should now rather be shaken, then utterly overthrown, thereby to admonish us of mans fragility, who useth to forget himself overmuch in prosperous estate. It is not long ago, since of our own motion and courage, we made War against the Grecians, and invaded their Dominions; but now we stand at defence for our own Country. Thus we are tossed one against another by change of Fortune; for one Nation cannot suffice the greatness of the Empire which we both do covet: But be it so that hope were taken from us, yet necessity ought to encourage us, the War is brought to such extremity. He keepeth now as Prisoners both my Mother, my two Daughters, and Octchus my Son, born to the succession of this Empire: He
keepeth

keepeth Captive your Prince, the Issue that is descended of the Blood-Royal; yea, and your Captains equal with Kings; and if you do not now bestir your hands, I my self am like to become a Captive: Deliver you therefore my Bowels out of Prison, and restore to me my Children, for whose sake I do not refuse to die. Be you all sure, that both my Mother and my Children (for my Wife is dead in Prison) are holding up their bands, crying unto the gods, and calling for your help, your courage and fidelity, that you would free them from Servitude, from Fetters, and from the Estate they are in, living at other mens will and appointment. Think you that they can be content to live under such, as they could scarcely vouchsafe to have for their Subjects? I see that our Enemies Battels do approach, and the nearer the danger is at hand, the less the words I have spoken do satisfie me. I make request to you by the gods of our Country, by the Eternal Fire that is carried upon their Altars, by the brightness of the Sun that riseth within the bounds of my Empire, and by the everlasting memory of Cyrus, who did take the Empire from the Medes and Lydians, and gave it to the Persians, to deliver their Names and this Nation from shame and reproach. Go forth chearfully, have you good hope, and see that you restore to your Posterity the glory you received of your Predecessours. Behold, you carry in your bands your Liberty, your Help, our Hope in time to come. He whosoever contemneth death escapeth it, and death only overtakeith such as do flee from it. I ride here in a Chariot, not only for that it is my Countries Custome, but also that I may be seen of you all: And I desire nothing so much, as that you will follow me, whether I shew you an example of Courage, or of Cowardliness.

In the mean season, whilst *Alexander* did covet to eschew the place of peril whereof he was advertised, and inforced himself to encounter with *Darius* left Battel, where he remained in person, he was compelled to fetch a compass about; whom when *Darius* perceived, he turned likewise his own Battel towards him; willing *Bessus*, to appoint the Horse of the *Massagetae*, to give a Charge on *Alexanders* left Battel. He sent before him his Hooked Wagons, which by a signe given, brake suddenly upon their Enemies with a full course, to the intent, that by their coming unawares, they might work the greater destruction. The Pikes that were set before in the Wagons, destroyed divers, and many were torn asunder by the Hooks that were on both sides: The *Macedons* gave not place to them by a little and little, but troubled their Array with a main flight. When *Mazens* saw their disorder, he put them in more tear, and appointed a thousand Horsemen to fetch a compass about the *Macedons* Battels to spoil their Carnage, supposing that the Prisoners which were there kept would break their Bands when they should see their own Nation approach: *Parmenio*, who was in the left Wing, did easily perceive it, and immediately sent *Polidamus* unto *Alexander*, to shew him the danger, and know his pleasure what he would have done: which when he understood by *Polidamus*; *Go thy way* (quoth he) *and shew Parmenio, if we win the Battel, we shall not only recover again our own, but shall have also the Spoil of our Enemies: Therefore I would not that any part of our Force should be removed out of the Main Battel, but let him fight it out manfully, and*

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and not regard the loss of Baggage; wherein be shall observe the Honour of me, and my Father Philip, whose Custom was to do the like.

In the mean season, the *Perians* were entred among the Carriages, and had slain divers that were left there in defence thereof: whereupon the prisoners began to unloose themselves; and taking up whatsoever came to hand, took part with the Horsemen, and sharply assailed the *Macedons*; divers were so joyful, that they ran to bear tydings to *Sisigambis*, how *Darius* had won the Victory, and had overthrown his Enemies with a great slaughter, and also that their Carriages were taken, thinking the like Fortune had been every where, seeing they saw the *Perians* fall to spoil. And although they exhorted *Sisigambis* that she should leave her heaviness, and rejoice, yet she continued in the same Estate she was in before, without speaking one word, or changing colour or countenance, but fate still immoveable: She was so overcome (as it was thought) with sudden joy, that she durst not stir, nor attempt Fortune; for such as did behold her, could not perceive which way she was inclined. In the mean season, *Amintas* that was Master of the Horse to *Alexander*, came with a few Bands of Horsemen to relieve the Carriages; but uncertain it was whether he did it of his own head, or by the Kings appointment: He was not able to endure the force of the *Cadusians* and *Scythians*; for scarcely attempting the skirmish, he was driven back, and fled again unto *Alexander*, being a witness rather of the loss of the Carriages, then a Rescuer of the same. The grief that *Alexander* conceived

ceived at this matter, overcame the purpose he took before in hand, and feared (not without cause) lest the Souldiers, through the carefulness to recover their own, might leave the fight, and resort towards their Baggage : He sent *Aretes*, Captain of the Spearmen that were nam'd *Sauſſopberii*, against the *Scytbiāns*. By this time the Hooked Waggons, which had before troubled the fore-front, were come within the square (which the *Macedons* call *Phalanx*) yet the Souldiers never shrunk at the matter, but received them into the midst of their Battel; whereas joyning themselves close together, they stood like a wall on both sides, thrusting their Pikes into the Bowels of the Horses; and ran about the Waggons, throwing down such as stood in them at defence. The whole Battel was intangled and troubled with the ruine and killing of the Horses, with such as governed them: They could not rule their Horses when they were once galled or hurt, who with much leaping and strugling, not only brake out of their Traces, but also overthrew the Waggons, drawing at their Tails the men that were slain; neither being able to stand still for the fear they were in, nor yet go forwards, being so faint of their wounds: Yet a few of them passed through the Battel; whereby such as the Waggons did light upon, were miserably slain, lying upon the ground with their Members cut in funder: Yet because that through the greenness of their wounds they felt little pain, they kept their Weapons still, notwithstanding they were maimed, and without strength, till such time as, by continual bleeding, they sunk down dead. *Aretes*, in the mean time, had

slain the Captain of the *Scythians* that were spoiling of the Carriages, and repulsed them back: But straightway came the *Bactrians*, by *Darius* sending, and turned the fortune of the Field again. Many *Macedons* were slain at the first encounter, but more fled unto *Alexander*: Then the *Persians* made such a shout as men are wont to do that win the Victory, and fiercely assailed their Enemies, thinking they had in every place been put to flight. When *Alexander* perceived his men shrink, and begin to faint, and give ground, he rebuked such as he saw afraid, and encouraged many that withdrew from the fight; so that he alone restored the Battel again. When he had put them in heart, he required them to press forwards, and go freely against their Enemies. *Alexander* perceiving that the *Bactrians* were departed to the defeating of the Carriages, and by their going had left the right-hand Battel of *Darius* thin and naked, he bent his force wholly that way, and there made a wonderful slaughter and destruction of his Enemies, who by reason of their loose Array, were not able to withstand him; which the *Persians* in the left wing observing, were in hope to have inclosed *Alexander* round, and came forwards to set upon his Rear, whereby great danger had ensued to him, being environed both before and behinde, if the *Agrians* had not put their Spurs to their Horses, and given a gallant Charge to their Enemies that were environing the King about, and so compelled the *Persians* to turn their faces again towards them.

The Battels thus were sore travelled on both sides: *Alexander* had his Foes both before and behinde,

hinde, and his Enemies that come on his back were sore oppressed by the *Agrians*: The *Bacrians* also that had spoiled the Carriages, were excluded from their own company, and could not recover their place again. Thus the Battels were divided in divers parts, and fought one against another, as their chance fell out. The two Kings, that joyned their Battel hard to one another, renewed again the fight: There were molt of the *Perians* slain; but the number of the wounded were like on both sides: *Darius* did ride in a Chariot, and *Alexander* upon a Horse: They both had a choice Band about them, which were careless of their own lives; for if their Kings should miscarry, they neither could be safe, nor yet desire to live. Wherefore every one of them thought it a Noble thing to adventure themselves before the face of their Prince; and he that covetted most to defend his Master, was in most peril; for each man desired the honour to kill the King of the contrary part. There (whether it were an imagination of the eyes, or visible indeed) such as were about *Alexander* believed, that they saw an Eagle fluttering above his head, which neither feared with the clashing of their Harness, nor by the crying of them that were dying, hovered still in the Air a little above him: Then *Aristander*, who did wear a white garment, and carried Lawrel in his hand, shewed this sight unto the Soldiers, being busie in the fight, as a certain token of Victory. This sight caused them, which before were in some doubt, chearfully and with great confidence to assail their Enemies.

The fight continued after this sort until the time

that he was slain who governed the Horse that drew *Darius* Chariot: Then neither the *Perfians* nor *Macedons* doubted, but that *Darius* had been slain: And the *Perfians*, upon that imagination, made a barbarous noise, and a sorrowful howling, where-with they sore troubled and affonied their whole Hoast, that were yet fighting with equal Victory: *Darius* Kinsmen, and the Squires of his Body that were on his left hand, left him, and fled away with a main flight: but such as stood in his defence on his right hand, conveyed him into the heart of the Battel.

It was said that *Darius* drew out his Sword, and was determined divers times to kill himself, rather then to sustain the shame of flying away: But when he saw, as he sate aloft on his Chariot, that a great part of his Army remained yet fighting, he was ashamed to leave them in such sort. And while he thus wavered in his own minde, the *Perfians* by little and little gave ground, and shrank from their order. *Alexander* that had tyred many Horses, did at that instant change his Horse anew, and stakke at the faces of them that did oppose: there was none then that made resistance any longer, but a manifest slaughter fell on the *Perfians*, and *Darius* turned his Chariot to fly away: The *Macedons* pursued hard after them that fled; and the dust that flew up to the Sky took away their prospect, so that they wandred as in darkness, and ever drew together when they heard any voice they knew; only the ratling and noise of the Chariots was a token for the *Macedons* to follow in the pursuit.

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As Fortune was prosperous to the *Macedons* on this part, and contrary unto their Enemies; so on the other side, where *Parmenio* in the left wing incontrered with the *Perians*, they had the better, and the *Macedons* the worse. *Mazeus* with his whole Band gave a violent charge, and put the Horsemen that stood in the wings to a sore dillress; and thereupon, by reason he abounded with multitude, he began to inclose the Footmen round. Then *Parmenio* sent word to *Alexander* in what danger they were; which he signified to be such, that except they had succour in time, they could not resist, but be inforced to fly away. *Alexander* was gone far in the Chase when this sorrowful message was brought him; wherefore he commanded his Horsemen to stand, and chafed wonderfully that the Victory should be thus taken out of his hands, and that *Darius* had better fortune in flying, then he in following. In the mean season, the fame of *Darius* overthrow was brought unto *Mazeus*, wherefore, though before he had the upper hand, yet he was so stricken with fear at his Fellows misfortune, that he made a slack pursuit upon their Enemies. *Parmenio* was ignorant of the cause why the fight did slack so willingly on their part; and boldly using the occasion, called the *Theffalian* Horsemen unto him, and said: See you not how our Enemies, that even now gave us a fierce onset, suddenly be afraid? I see the fortune of our King doth give us the Victory: All the Field is strowed with the Perians that be slain; Why do you therefore stay? Are you not good enough for men that fly?

They saw that his words had some appearance of truth ; and therefore by and by they took courage, and putting their Spurs to their Horses, gave a full charge upon their Enemies, who retired not by little and little, but marched away a great pace ; and they wanted nothing of flying , saving that they had not yet directly turned their backs : yet for all that , in so much as *Parmenio* knew not what was become of the King , nor of his Battel , he stayed , and would not pursue after them. *Mazeus* having liberty given him to fly at his leisure , passed the River of *Tire*, not the next way , but by a further compass about with more surety , and recovered the City of *Babylon* with the remainder of that vanquished Army.

In the mean season , *Darius*, with a few that accompanied him in his flight , came to the River of *Licus* , where passing over , he stood in doubt whether he should break the Bridge or no ; for it was shewed him , that his Enemies were at hand : but considering how many thousands of his men by the breaking thereof should become a prey to his Enemies , he left the Bridge standing ; and at his departure said , *That he had rather open the way to them that pursued him, then to shut it against them that fled after him.* But *Darius* left not his flying till he came to *Arbella* , where he arrived about mid-night : Who is able to conceive in his minde , or expiess in words , the manifold chance in this discomfiture , the slaughter that fell both upon Captains and Souldiers ; the chasing of them that were put to flight , and the destruction in general , and in particular ; Fortune heaped together in that one day

day the chances of the whole world. Some took the way that came next to hand ; others fled into the Woods, and sought out by-ways to escape such as had them in the chase : There was a confusion of Horsemen and Footmen mix'd together without any head ; the armed with the unarmed, and the whole with the hurt.

At length, the compassion that one had of another, was turned into fear ; and they that could not follow, were left bewailing themselves one to another : But Thirst chiefly afflicted the wounded and wearied, who lay along every where in the ways where any water was, gasping after it with open mouths ; and when for greediness they had guil'd in the troubled water, they began to swell, when the Mud once entred into their In-trails ; and being thus not in case to move, the Enemy came and starr'd them up with fresh wounds some, when the Brooks near hand were taken up by others, sought out for Springs in every secret place : Nor were there any Puddles so dry, or so far out of the way, that could be hidden from the thirst of them that searched them out : The old men and women were heard howling and crying in all the Villages neare the way side, how *Darius* was yet their King. *Alexander* (as it hath been said before) pursuing the Chase, was come to the River of *Licus*, at which the multitude of the Flyers were more then could pass the Bridge ; so that many, when their Enemies pursued them, leaped into the water ; and there laden with their Armour, and wearied with fighting and flying, were consumed in the stream : But within a while, neither the Bridge nor the River

were able to receive the throng that continually increased by their indiscreet flying: For when fear had once entred into their hearts, they doubted only that which put them first in fear. The Macedons were very eager in pursuit of their Enemies, and required *Alexander*, that he would not suffer his Enemies to escape free away: But he to stay them, alledged, that their weapons were dull, their hands wearied, their bodies faint in the long pursuit, and the night besides fast approached on them: But in very deed, the care of his other Battel, which he thought to be yet fighting, caused him to return to their succour.

He had not so soon turned his Ensignes, but that certain Horsemen brought him word from *Persepolis*, that he likewise had put his Enemies to flight. He was not in so great danger all that day, as when he was coming towards his Camp; for there were but few that followed him, and they were out of order, as men that rejoicing of the Victory, judged all their Enemies either to be fled, or slain in the Field. Suddenly there appeared a Band of Persian Horsemen coming against them, which at the first stayed, but afterwards perceiving the small number of the Macedons, gave a charge upon them. The King rode foremost, rather dissembling their despising the peril he was in: But his perpetual felicity never failed him in his extremities; for at the first encounter, he smote the Captain of the Persians (who in eagerness of the fight unadvisedly came against him) through with a Spear. When he with that blow was stricken to the ground, *Alexander* slew the next unto him with the same Staff; and after him, divers others.

When

When his Company saw their Enemies amazed with his doings, they brake upon them, and threw many to the earth ; yet they, for their parts, were not unrevenged : for the whole Battel did not so earnestly fight, as that small Band assembled so by chance. But at length , when they saw flying in the dark to be more safe unto them then fighting, they fled away in divers Companies: *Alexander* having escaped this extraordinary peril, brought his men in safeguard unto his Camp.

There were slain of the *Perians*, which came to the knowledge of them that had the Victory , forty thousand ; and of the *Macedons*, less then three hundred : which Victory *Alexander* won more by his own Vertue , then by any fortune ; and with hardiness and courage , more then through any advantage of the ground : for he both ordered his Battels politickly, and fought manfully : With great wisdom he contemned the loss of the Baggage, considering the weight of the whole matter to consist in the Battel it self. Whilst the fortune of the Field remained doubtful, he used himself as assured of the Victory ; and when he had put his Enemies in fear , he ceased not till he had set them flying : and that which scarcely can be believed , in that fierceness of courage, he pursued in the Chase more wisely then greedily : For if he should have followed on still, part of his Power yet fighting in the Field , he should either have lost the Battel through his own fault ; or else have won the Victory through the prowess of another : Or if after he had obtained the Victory , he had shewed himself afraid of the Horsemen that he met, he must either

shamefully

shamefully have fled, or have been miserably slain.

Nor were his Captains to be defrauded of their due commendation , for the wounds that they did receive were tokens of their Manhood ; *Ephestions* arm was wounded with a Spear , *Perdicas* , *Cenos* , and *Medinas* , with shot of Arrows , were almost slain out-right : And if we will give a true judgment of the *Macedons* that were there , we must confess , that he was a King worthy of such Ministers , and they men worthy of so great a Master .



THE
FIFTH BOOK
OF
QUINTUS CURTIUS.

Of the Acts of Alexander the Great, King of Macedonia.

If I should here make mention of the Wars that in the mean season intervened both in *Greece*, *Italy*, and in *Thracia*, and of the Revolters that were checked and subdued by the appointment and Commission of *Alexander*, the proceedings in *Asia* would thereby be interrupted, which I thought most convenient to put wholly together, until the death of *Darius*; and then to joyn them in this work, as they agree with the time. I will first speak of those things that ensued after the Battel of *Arbella*, where *Darius* arrived about mid-night; and, as it chanced, the greater part of his friends, whom he called all together, and spake to them to this effect:

That he doubted not but *Alexander* and his Soldiers, greedy of the abundance of the spoil which was in a readiness for them, would visit such Cities and Countries of his as were most famous for their situation and wealth; which thing, he said, considering his estate,

estate, could not but turn at length to his advantage. His purpose was, in a swift March, to repair into the Desarts : And seeing the uttermost bounds of his Kingdom were yet untouched, he might easily repair his Power from thence to renew the War.

Let therefore that greedy Nation (quoth he) take my Treasure, and satisfie their hunger with gold, which shortly shall cause both the same, and themselves also, to be a prey unto us : For (he said) he had learned by experience, that the Flocks of Concubines and Eunuchs, were nothing else but burdens and impediments ; which Alexander possessing, and carrying about with him, it would at the last make him inferiour unto them of whom before he was Victorious.

His Oration seemed to all men to be full of desperation ; for they saw thereby, that the rich City of Babylon should be given up unto the Macedons, and Susa shortly after, with all other Ornaments of the Realm, which were the cause of the War : But he proceeded in perswading them, how that men in adversity ought not to do things that should seem goodly in the speaking, but necessary in the experience : That Wars were made with Iron, and not with Gold ; with men, and not with the walls of Cities : for all things follow them that are armed, and in strength. He shewed, that his Ancestors, famous for their Atchievements, were afflicted after this manner, in the beginning, and yet recovered quickly again their former estate. After he had spoken these words, either for that they were whereby encouraged, or else that they rather obeyed his Authority, then liked his Counsel, they followed him into the bounds of Media. Shortly after,

Arbella

Arbella was delivered up to *Alexander*, which was full of Treasure, and precious Moveables; and besides, the pay of the whole Army was left there. The sickness that began in *Alexanders* Camp, arising from the favour of the dead bodies which were scattered over all the Fields, was the cause that he did the sooner remove. The plain Country of *Arabia*, famous with the abundance of sweet Odours there growing, lay upon the right hand as they marched: And so passing through the Country lying between *Tygris* and *Euphrates*, which is so fat and plentiful a ground, that the Inhabitants are fain to drive their Beasts from feeding, lest a Surfeit should destroy them. The cause of this fertility, cometh by the moisture that issueth from both Rivers, sweating by veins, through the ground. Both these Rivers have their beginnings in the Mountains of *Armenia*, where they are distant twenty five hundred furlongs, and so run forwards, keeping their distance, till they come near unto the bounds of *Media* and *Gordia*: For there, by little and little, they draw more near together, leaving less space betwixt them. They inclose on both sides the Country that is called *Mesopotamia*, from whence they run, through the bounds of *Babylon*, into the *Red Sea*.

After *Alexander* had changed his Camp four times, he came to a City called *Memnium*, where there is a Fountain within a Cave, that belcheth out great plenty of Pitch: So that it appears the *Babylonians* had their Cement from thence, which they employed about the making of their walls of an incredible bredth and compass. As *Alexander* was going from thence towards *Babylon*, *Mazens*, who was

was said before to have fled from the Battel, came to meet him in most humble manner ; whereas committing his Children into his hands, he yeilded himself, and rendred up the City. His coming was very grateful unto the King , considering what travel he should have sustained in the siege of so strong a City, if it had been kept against him : And besides, for so much as *Mazeus* was a man both famous and valiant, and much commended for his achievements in the last Battel , and conceived his example shoud provoke others to do the like, he received both him and his Children in gentle manner ; and yet gave order to his men, that they shoud enter into the City in such Array of Battel , as if they were presently to fight. A great number of the *Babylonians* stood upon the walls , desirous to behold him that was their new King ; but the most part went forth to meet him. *Bagistines* that was Captain of the Castle, and Keeper of the Kings Treasure , because he would shew himself to be no les affectionate towards *Alexander* then *Mazeus* was, strowed all the ways, where he should pass, with Floweres and Garlands , and set Altars of Silver on both sides , with Frankincense burning upon the same ; and all other kinde of sweet odours. Next unto him came Droles of Beasts, great number of Horses, with Lyons and Pardals lying in their Dens , which he brought as Presents to give unto *Alexander* ; and after them the Wise Men, singing according to their Country manner : The *Caldeans* followed next , with their Diviners and Prophets ; and then the Musitians with several kindes of Instruments , whose property was to sing the praises of their Kings ; and the *Calde-*

ans ;

ans, who used to declare the motion of the Planets, with the course and revolution of the times. Last, in order, came the Babylonian Horsemen, whose sumptuous furniture, both for themselves and their Horses, tended more to voluptuousness and delicacy, than to any magnificence. *Alexander*, that was inclosed about with armed men, willed that the *Babylonians* should come behinde his Footmen; and he riding aloft in his Chariot, entred into the City, and afterwards into the Palace; where, the next day, he surveyed *Darius* his Wardrobe, and his Treasures. The beauty and pleasantness of that City gave just occasion to *Alexander*, and such as were with him, to admire it much: *Semiramis* was the Builder thereof; or as some affirm, *Belus*, whose Palace is to be seen there: The walls are made with Brick, interlined with Fitch; they are thirty two foot in bredth; so that two Carts may easily go upon them on front: They are in height one hundred Cabits, and the Towers are ten foot higher then the Walls; the compass of the whole work about, is three hundred sixty eight furlongs, being builded (as it is left in memory) in so many days: The houses stand the bredth of an Acre distant from the walls; they are contiguous, house to house, by the space of ninety furlongs; in other places not joyned near to one another, but for some considerations so divided asunder. The rest of the ground is sown and tilled; to the intent, that if any Foreign Power come against them, they should be able to be relieved by the fruit thereof. The River of *Euphrates* doth run through the midst of the City, and is kept in on both sides with walls of a wonderful workman-

workmanship: But the great Channels made of Brick, and fastened with Pitch instead of Mortar, and wrought low within the ground, to receive the violence of the Stream, do exceed all the rest of the works there made: for except the same were of quantity and largeness to receive the water when the Stream floweth over the Banks that are made to keep it in, its violence would beat down the houses of the City. There is also over the River a strong Bridge, which joyneth both parts of the City together, counted amongst the marvellous works of the Orient: For because that *Euphrates* is so full of Sand and Owse, there can hardly ground be found to lay that Foundation upon; and the Stream besides casteth up such heaps of Sand against the Bridge, that it is an impediment for the water freely to pass; and therefore the River beateth upon the Bridge with greater force, then if it had his free course.

There is also a Castle that is twenty furlongs about, the Towers whereof are thirty foot deep within the ground, and fourscore foot in height above the ground; where also the Wonders are to be seen so often mentioned in the Greek Poets: for in the same are whole Groves of Trees set by wonderful Art, as if hanging in the Air, and so high as are the tops of the Towers, which Trees are marvellously beautiful and pleasant through their height and shadow which they make: The whole weight of them is sustained and borne up by huge Pillars made of Stone, upon which there is a Floor of square stone, that both upholdeth the Earth that lieth deep on the Pillar, and also the humours wherewith

wherewith it is watred. The trees that grow thereupon are eight cubits about, and as fruitful as if they grew on natural Earth. And although that process of time by little and little doth not only destroy things made with hands, but also the very works of nature: yet this work, for all it is oppressed with the roots of so many trees, and burthened with the weight of so much earth, doth yet remain unperished, being sustainted up with twenty broad walls distant eleven foot one from another. When these trees are seen afar off, they seem to be a wood growing upon a mountain. It is said that the King of Syria reigning in Babylon, builded this work for his wives faicy, who for the love she had to Groves and shadowy places, moved her Husband in doing thereof to counterfeit the pleasantnes of nature:

Alexander tarried longer here then in any other City, which corrupted more the discipline of the Macedons in their Wars then any other place. For nothing was more licentious then the manners and customes of the City; nor was any other place more abundantly furnished of all things, wherewith men are allured and stirred to excess of pleasure. The Parents and Husbands were contented that their children and wives should for gain embrace such strangers as came amongst them. The Kings and Nobility of Persia delight much in plays and banqueting, but the Babylonians are specially addicted unto wine and drunckenes, where the women use a custome, that in the beginning of the Feast their apparel seemeth civil and demure; but afterwards by little and little

they put off their uppermost garments, and laying aside all modesty, they at last discover themselves naked. Which vile custome is not used by harlots only, but by all women in general, who esteem the making of their bodies common but civility and good manners : in this voluptuousness the Conquerour of *Asia* wallowed by the space of thirty four days, whereby he became much the weaker to have done other enterprizes, if there had been an enemy to have stood against him. But to the intent the damage should be the less perceived, he increased his power with a new supply out of *Macedonia*. For *Amintas* the son of *Andremnes* brought him from *Antipater* six thousand footmen, and five hundred horsemen, and with them five hundred of the *Ithracian* horsemen, and thirty five hundred footmen of the same Nation. He had also out of *Peloponnesus* four thousand footmen, and four hundred eighty horsemen, being all mercenary Souldiers. *Amintas* also brought him fifty of the young men of the Nobility of *Macedonia*, to attend upon *Alexanders* person : whose office it was to serve the King at Table, and to bring him his horse when he went to Battel. They accustomed to be about him when he hunted, and kept watch by course at his chamber-door. These were they who afterwards proved great Captains, and out of whole loins the Rulers of the men of War did come.

Alexander appointed *Agathon* Captain of the Castle of *Babylon*; with seven hundred *Macedons*, and three hundred mercenary Souldiers, and left *Lynetas* and *Apolidorus* Governours of the City and

and Countrey, to whom he assigned two thousand footmen, and one thousand Talents, giving them Commission to levy more Souldiers. He made *Mazeus* that gave the City into his hands, Lieutenant of the whole, and caused *Bagistines* that yielded up the Castle to follow him in his Wars. *Armenia* was given to *Mithrenes* that betrayed the City of *Sardis*; and to encourage his men to enter-prize new atchievements, he gave out of the treasure of *Babylon* to every *Macedon* Horseman five hundred Deniers, to every Horseman of the strangers five hundred, and to every Footman two hundred. When he had set all these things in order, he came into the Country called *Atrapene*, which being plentiful of all things, and abounding in Victuals, caused the King to tarry the longer there.

And lest idleness should be any abatement to the courage of his men, he contrived a way to stir up their spirits, and to keep them occupied, by appointing Judges to try out such as had shewed themselves most valiant in the Wars, to whom he assigned Rewards due to their deservings. There were Eight found out, whose manhood appeared above the rest, and the charge of one thousand Men was committed to every one of them, who were then called *Chiliarchi*: this was the first time they put one Thousand into a Regiment; for before this they were divided only into five hundred, which was not counted any great preferment, or reward of service. The number of them were great that came to plead their right in this behalf; who before the Judges that gave sentence, brought

in a testimony of their atchievements , whereby it could not be unknown which of them had justly purchased such honour or not. The first place was adjudged to the elder *Adarchius*, for his valiantness in the Battel at *Alicarnasson*, where he chiefly did restore again the fight, when the young Souldiers had given it over. The second place of honour was given to *Antigonus*, and *Philotas Angus* obtained the third ; the fourth was adjudged to *Amin-tas*, the fift to *Antigonus* ; *Amin-tas* the Son of *Lyn-cceters* obtained the sixth , *Theodorus* the seventh , and *Hellenicus* the last. He also profitab'y altered many things that were used by his Predecessours in the discipline of War : For whereas before the Horsemen of every Country were in several Bands by themselves , he without respect of any Nation, appointed them such Captains as he thought expedient. And whereas at the removing of the Camp, warning was wont to be given by a Trumpet , the sound whereof in any noise or tumult could not be sufficiently heard, he caused an high Pole to be always set up before his Pavilion, on the top whereof an Ensigne was fastened, apparent to all men : the other tokens which they observed, were fire in the night, and smoak in the day.

As he was marching towards *Susa*, *Abulites* that was Ruler of that Region , either by *Darius* commandment , thinking by means of the spoil either to divert *Alexander*, or by his own free will, sent his Son to meet him, proffering the delivery of the City. The young man was intreated very gently, and by his conduct *Alexander* passed forwards, till he came to the River *Hydasp's* , which

is esteemed to be a very delicate water. *Abulites* there met *Alexander* with many and Princely gifts, and presented him among other things, Dromedaries that were wonderfully swift, and with twelve Elephants that *Darius* had sent for out of *India*, to be a terror to the *Macedons*, which now were become an increase of their strength. When the riches of the Conqueror was come into the hands of the Conquerour, he found in that City an incredible Treasure, fifty thousand Talents of massie silver uncoyned : which Riches gathered together in the space of many years by divers Kings, for their succession and posterity, came thus in a moment into the hands of a forreign Prince.

Alexander being lodged within the Palace, did sit down in *Darius* seat, which being higher than served for his stature, by reason his teet could not reach to the ground, one of the Kings Pages put a board for him, underneath, to tread upon; whereat one of the Eunuches that belonged to *Darius* looked heavily, and tetch'd a deep sigh; whose sadness when *Alexander* perceived, he enquired of him the cause; He answered, that when he beheld the board whereon *Darius* was wont to eat, employed to so base a use, he could not behold it without grief. *Alexander* being ashamed so much to misuse the thing that before was had in such reverence, caused the same to be taken away: But *Philotas* made request he should not do so, but rather take it as a divination of his good luck and fortune, that the Table wheron his Enemy did eat shold now become subject to his teet.

Alexander purposing from thence to pass into Persia, committed the City of *Susa* to *Archelaus* with three thousand men of War, and to *Zenophibius* the charge of the Castle, leaving such *Macedons* as were aged there in Garison; but bestowed the keeping of the Treasure unto *Celicerates*, and restored to *Abulites* the Government and Principality of the Countrey of *Suse*, leaving within the City, the Mother and the Children of *Darius*. And for as much as *Alexander* had at the same time plenty of cloth of Purple sent him out of his Country, with Garments ready made after the *Macedons* manner, for the honour he bare to *Sisigambis* (whom he had in reverence as if she had been his mother) he thought good to present part of them unto her, with the persons that used to make them, and willed that if she liked them, she should accustome her Neeches to make the like, and give them for Presents. At the declaring of which Message the tears flowed down her eyes, which declared the gift not to be acceptable to her; for the Persian Ladies take nothing in more contempt then to put their hands to Wool. When report was made to *Alexander* in what sort she had received his Present, he thought the rudeness meet to be excused, and her to be comforted; therefore he came to visit her, and said:

This Garment which I wear was both of the gift and making of my sisters; our Customes brought me into error. Therefore I desire you, that you will not take mine ignorance in evil part. I trust that otherwise I have observed sufficiently all things which I knew to be your Customes. When I under-

stood that it was not lawful for the Son to sit in the Mothers presence except she doth give him leave, I would never whensoever I came into your presence sit, until you willed me so to do. You would oftentimes have fallen down and worshipped me, but I would not suffer you; but have ever honoured you, and given you the name due to my sweet Mother Olympias.

When the King with these words had pacified her, he departed; and by four encampings came unto a River that the Countrey-men call *Pesitigris*, which springing in the Mountains of the *Uxiuns*, it runneth steep down amongst the Rocks with woody bank by the space of fifty furlongs, but then descending into a plain, it become h navigable, and so runneth with a more quiet stream, and in a foster gound, by the space of six hundred Furlongs, to such time as it doth enter into the *Persian Sea*. *Alexander* passing this River with nine Thousand Footmen of the *Macedons*, with the *Agrians*, th mercenary Greeks, and with four Thousand *Tracians*, came amongst the *Uxiuns*, whose County is near unto *Suse*, and stretcheth out into *Persi*, leaving betwixt it and *Suse* a narrow streight. *Midates* had the rule of that Country, who was such a man as was rare at that time; for he determined to abide all extremities for his duties sake. Such as knew the Country, did inform *Alexand* that there was a privy way through the Mountains whereby men might get to the furthest side of the chief City of that Country; and if he wold send but a few that were light armed, they miſt be brought to a place where they

should appear above their enemies heads. This counsel liked him so well, that he made these Counsellours Guides for his Army, and committed them to *Tauron*, whom he appointed chief of the Enterprize. He assigned unto him fifteen hundred mercenary Souldiers, and one thousand *Agrians*, with whom, after the Sun was gone down, he entered into his journey. *Alexander* in the third watch removed his Camp, and by the Spring of the day had passed the Strights; there he set his men in hand for the cutting down of Timber for making of Towers, and all such other things as pertained to the assault of a City, and so began his siege. It was a difficult matter to make the approach; the City stood too high, and the Rocks gave such impediment, that the Souldiers were repulsed, and received many hurts, contending both with the Enemies, and the scituatiōn of the place: notwithstanding they gave it not over, by reason the King was always amongst the foremost, asking if they were not ashamed, being the Conquerours of so many Cities, to be so long in the winning of a small Castle, that was so obscure and unknown in the world. As he was travelling amongst the foremost, with Darts and Arrows they made many a shot at him from the walls; but the Souldiers defended him with their Targets, because they could not perswade him thence. At length *Tauron* appeared above the Castle of the City, a whose sight his Enemies hearts fainted, and the *Macedons* more fiercely did assail them. When they saw themselves in this extremity, and perceiv their power not able to withstand the *Macedos*, they became

came of divers dispositions; For some were determined to die, and many to fly away. But the greater part retired themselves into the Castle, from whence they sent unto *Alexander* thirty Embassadours to ask mercy. But he returned a sad answer to them, that there was no pardon to be obtained at his hands: whereupon they being in the utmost danger of death, and excluded from all other remedies, sent unto *Sisigambis*, by a privy way unknown to their Enemies, making their request that she should vouchsafe to be a means to *Alexander* for the pacifying of his rigour towards them. In her only they put their hope, knowing how much *Alexander* loved her, and that he esteemed her as if she had been his mother. And they thought she would the rather incline to their desire, because *Madates* that was Captain there had married her sisters Daughter, whereby he became a Kinsman to *Darius*. *Sisigambis* stood long in denial of their request, shewing that it agreed not with her fortune to become an intercessour for others; adding thereunto, that she feared lest she might misuse his favours, and make him weary of her importunities; for she said, that she had more remembrance that she was a prisoner, than that she was a Queen. But at length she was overcome with their solicitations, and by her Letters made intercession unto *Alexander*, after such sort, that she first excused her self of her suite making, and after required him that he would pardon them, or at the leastwise that he would forgive her, being Petitioner only for the life of such a one as was her Friend and Kinsman; and now no longer an enemy, but in readiness to submit
him.

himself. This one thing is sufficient to declare the moderation and clemency that was then in *Alexander*; for he did not only pardon *Madates*, but also left the City untouched, granting to all that were within it their liberty, with enjoyment of their Lands and Goods, without paying of any tribute. More then this she could not have obtained of *Darius* being her Son.

When he had thus subdued the *Uxians*, he united them to the Province of *Susa*, and purposing to pass forwards, he divided his Army into two parts; whereof he committed the one to *Parmenio* to be conducted through the plain Country, and reserving such a part as was pestered least with baggage, he took the way of the Mountains, which with a continual ridge runneth out in length from thence into *Persia*. In his passage he plundered all the Mountain-Country, and arrived the third day in the confines of *Persia*. The fifth day he entered into the Streights of *Pyle Susiae*, which were defended by *Ariobarzanes* with fifteen thousand Footmen, who on the tops of the high and steep Rocks that hung over on both sides the way, at the first kept themselves quiet on purpose, pretending a fear, until such time as the Army was entred into the narrowest of the Streights. But when they saw the *Macedons* pass on forwards in contempt of them, then they threw down great stones upon them; which falling upon the undermost Rocks, and there breaking in pieces, rebounded amongst the *Macedons*, falling with such violence, that they distressed whole Regiments at once. And besides this, they did them great damage with shot

of Arrows and Stones that they casted out of Slings. Such as were men of courage were not so much grieved with the death and destruction that they saw there present, as that they should be slain after such a manner, like beasts caught in a pit, whereas as they could not be revenged upon their Enemies. Their wrath hereupon was turned into such a rage, that they ran up against the Rocks, and there enforced themselves by taking hold and by heaving up of one another, to mount up unto their Enemies. But when they had caught hold of some outward part, and thereby laboured to ascend (by force of so many hands that fastened to it at once) they pulled in sunder the thing they held by, and fell down all together. In this case they could neither remain, go forwards, nor yet defend themselves by any device they could make with their Targets, seeing the stones were of such weight that were thrown down upon them.

Alexander was in great trouble of minde, not only for the grief he received by the destruction of his men, but much more for the shame that he had so rashly brought his men into such a dangerous straight. He had been invincible before that day, and never attempted any thing in vain: He had passed the Streights of *Cilicia* without damage, and opened to himself a new way by Sea into *Pambilia*; which felicity of his seemed to be now at a stay, if not to retreat; for he could perceive no other remedy, then to return by the way he came. He caused the retreat therefore to be sounded, and gave order to his Souldiers to go close together, and by casting their Targets over their heads, to return

the

the same way they came, having then marched thirty Furlongs within the Straight.

When he returned, and had planted his Camp in an open ground, consulting what was best to do, such a superstition invaded his minde, that he called for the Priests and Diviners to help the matter by their invocation: But *Aristander*, to whom he gave most confidence, could do nothing in that case. *Alexander* therefore condemning their Sacrifices, which he thought then done out of time, called for such as knew the Countrey: they shewed him of another way that was plain and open enough; but yet he liked it not, he was so ashamed to leave his Souldiers unburied that were slain: For amongst all other Ceremonies observed in the discipline of their Wars, there was not any more religiously kept, then the burying of the dead. He caused therefore such prisoners as were lately taken to be called before him; amongst whom, there was one expert both of the Greek and Persian tongue, who shewed to the King that he laboured in vain, if he thought to convey his Army over the tops of those Mountains; which (he said) began at Mount *Caucasus*, and closed in the one side of *Persia*, by the space of sixteen hundred Furlongs in length, and one hundred and forty in breadth, till such time as they descended unto the Sea, which maketh another Fence where the Mountains ceased. The Country lying at the foot of the Mountains, he described to be plain, fruitful, and replenished with many fair Cities and Villages, and that the River of *Araxes* running through the same, falleth into another River called *Medus*, bringing with it the

Tributes

Tributes of many smaller streams ; which River of *Medus* being much less then the same which it doth receive, runneth from thence towards the South. No place could be more abundant of grass, the River every where cloathing with Flowers, what it had bedewed with its waters. The River was shadowed over with Plantain and Poplar-trees, which by reason they stand somewhat high, and the water runneth low in a deep channel, seem to such as be afar off, to be woods adjoyning to the mountains. He accounted no Country in *Asia* to be more wholesome, or to have a more temperate air then this, both by reason of shadowy Mountains that evermore keep off the heat; and also of the Sea, which on that part being at hand, with a constant temperature doth nourish the ground.

When the prisoner had made a description of the Country after this manner, the King enquired of him whether he knew those things by report, or else had seen them with his eyes. He said that he had been a Herds-man, and knew the Country very well, and all the passages, and that he had been twice taken prisoner; once by the *Perians* in *Lycia*, and now the second time by him. Upon these words *Alexander* called an Oracle to memory, whereby it was signified to him, that a *Lycian* should be his Guide into *Perisia*. Wherefore promising to him such rewards as the present necessity required, and as his estate was meet to receive; he willed him to be armed after the *Macedons* manner, and to be their Guide to shew them the way; which way, though he had declared to be straight and difficult, yet *Alexander* made no doubt

doubt to pass it with a small number, thinking it no difficult matter to pass that place for his glory, which the Herds-men had passed often-times for the profit of pasture. Then the guide left not to alledge the difficulties of the way, specially for such as wear arms: but the King said to him, Take me for surety, that not one of them that are appointed thee, shall refuse to go where thou shalt pass.

That done, he left *Craterus* with the charge of his Camp, and he himself passed forwards with such Footmen as were accustomied to his person, with those bands of whom *Meleager* had charge, and with a thousand Archers on horseback, taking first order with *Craterus* that he should keep his Camp in the same form it had been used before, and cause many fires to be made of purpose, that the Enemies might rather think him to be there still present: he advised him further, that if he perceived *Ariobarzanes* to get knowledge of his Enterprize, and so to send part of his power to the stopping of his passage, that then by pretending of an assault, he should shew all the terror he could to draw his Enemies from him, to the defence of that place. But if that he himself should deceive his Enemies, and recover the Hill upon them, that then upon the hearing of the alarm in the Camp of the Persians, preparing themselves to resist him, he should not doubt to pass that way from whence they were repulsed the day before, judging they should finde no resistance, the Enemies power being converted towards him. In the third watch he set forwards in great silence, without sounding of

of Trumpet, and passed on by such a way as was shewed him by the Guide ; every Souldier that was light arm'd carrying three days Victuals. But when he was on his way, besides the wilde Rocks and sharp stones that caused them oft to fail their footing, the Snow driven by the winde was a great impediment to them in their journey ; for they fell divers times down into pits ; and such as covete^ted to pull them out, were often-times themselves drawn after. The night also, with the Country unknown, and the Guide , of whose fidelity they doubted ; increased much their fear, considering that if they should not deceive their Enemies watch, they should be taken and perish like beasts. They considered also, that both their safeguard and the Kings lay in the hands of a prisoner.

At length they came to a Mountain, where the way towards *Ariobarzanes* lay on the right hand , where he sent before , under the guiding of such as they had taken prisoners, *Philotas*, *Cenon*, *Amitas*, and *Polipercon*, with a band of the lightest arm'd , whom he advised , that forasmuch as they had both horsemen and footmen , and the Country fertile and abundant in forrage , that they should make no haste, but pass forwards fair and easily ; and he, with the Esquires of his body ; and the band of horsemen whom they called *Agema*, was guided by another by-path, far off from the place where his enemies kept their watch : But the passage was so straight and so hollow, that they suffered great trouble and vexation in passing thereof. It was now mid-day , and they were so wearied , that of necessity they must take rest , ha-
ving

ving so far to go, as they had travelled already, saving that the way was not altogether so difficult and rough. He refreshed therefore his men with meat and sleep, and in the second Watch did rise up, and passed the rest of his journey without any great difficulty, saving in that part where the Mountain began to fall aslope towards the plain; their passage was there suddenly stopped by a great gull, occasioned by the violence of the streams that ran down the Mountains, by wearing away the Earth; and besides, the trees standing so thick, and the boughs that grew one within another, appeared before them as a continual hedge. When they saw themselves stayed after this manner, such desperation fell amongst them, that they could scarcely abstain from tears, the darkness being a great increase of their terror, seeing they could not enjoy any benefit of the Stars; for if any gave light, the same was taken away by the shadow of the trees. And the use of the ear could not serve for one to receive counsel and comfort from another, the wind whirling amongst the leaves, and the shaking of the boughs making an amazing noise. But at length the day increasing in its light, diminished the terrors that the darkness of the night had made. Then by fetching a little compass about, they passed the hollow gull, and every man began to be a guide to himself. At last they got up on the top of the Hill, from whence they might behold their Enemies in their Camp. Then the *Macedons* shewed themselves stoutly in their Armour; appearing suddenly on their backs, when they mistrusted no such thing, and there flew

flew such as came first to encounter with them: So that on the one part, the grievous noise of them that were slain, and the miserable shriek of such as ran in for succour amongst their own company, put the rest to flight without making any resistance: When the Alarm was once heard, in the Camp where *Craterus* lay, the Army by and by passed forward to go through the Streights, in the which they were repulsed the day before. *Philotas* also, with *Polipercon*, *Cenos*, and *Amintas*, who were gone the other way, arrived at the same time, and gave a further terror unto their Enemies. When the *Persians* saw their Enemies assailing them in all parts at once, though they were so opprest with their sudden invasion, that at the first they were in doubt what to do; yet at length they assembled together, and fought notably, necessity stirring up the faintness of their hearts; for often-times despair is the cause of good hope. They being unarmed, closed with them that were armed, and with the weight of their bodies pulled their Enemies to the Earth, and killed divers with their own Weapons. *Ariobarzanes* with forty Horsemen, and five thousand Footmen that kept about his person, brake through the Battel of the *Macedons*, to the great slaughter of his own men and his Enemies; and by making haste, recovered *Persepolis* the chief City of the Countrey. But when he was excluded from thence by such as were within, he renewed again the Fight with such as were with him, and so was slain.

By that time *Craterus*, that made all the speed he could, was come unto them, *Alexander* fortified

his Camp in the same place, where he did discomfit his Enemies. For though they were all fled, and he certain of the Victory, yet because he found his way stopped in many places with great and deep Ditches, he thought good to use circumspection, and not to make too great a speed: not so much by fear of his Enemies Force, as by reason of the nature of the ground, which he found apt for them to lay ambushments against him. As he was passing forwards, he received Letters from *Tyridates* the keeper of *Darius* Treasure, signifying that the inhabitants of *Persopolis* hearing of his coming, were about to spoil the Treasure; and that therefore he should haste to prevent it, for the way was ready enough, notwithstanding the River of *Araxes* interposed. There was no vertue in *Alexander* more commendable then his celerity, which he shewed specially in this; for leaving his footmen behinde, he travelled all night with his horsemen, and by day-light came to the River of *Araxes*; there he found many Villages and Houses, whose Timber being taken down, a Bridge was raised in a moment, by the help of stones which were found in the bottom of the River.

When *Alexander* had passed the River, and came near unto the City, a company met him so miserable, as seldom have been found in any memory. They were Greeks, to the number of four thousand, whom the Persians heretofore had taken prisoners, and afflicted with divers kindes of torments. For some of them had their feet cut off, some their hands, and others their ears, but all were marked in the flesh with hot Irons. The Persians having

having maimed and deformed them after this manner, kept and reserved them still, as a memory of their despite towards the Nation. But when they saw they should come under the obedience of another Prince, they suffered the Greeks to meet *Alexander*. They seemed rather to be Specters then men: for nothing could be discerned or known but their voice. The compassion of their wretched estate, caused the beholders to let fall no fewer tears then they did themselves. For it could not appear which of them were most miserable, though their afflictions were divers. But when they had tried out before *Alexander*, that Jupiter the revenger of Greece had opened their eyes in beholding him that should deliver them, they judged then all their gifts as one. *Alexander* wiped the tears from his eyes, and willed them to be of good chear, for that they should both see their Countrey and their Friends: and he encamped at the same place where he met them, being two furlongs from *Persepolis*. The Greeks drew themselves together to consult what was best for them to demand of *Alexander*; and when some were of opinion to ask dwelling places within *Asia*, and others had more minde to return into their Countries, *Euclemon the Cyncean* spake thus unto them: *We that even now were ashamed to put our heads out of the prison and darkness we were in, to make suit for our own aid and relief, are become of such simplicity, that we presently desire to shew unto Greece as a pleasant spectacle, our deformities and maims, whereof we have as much cause to be ashamed, as to be grieved. You must think that such bear their*

miseries best, who can finde the means to bide them most; and that there is no Countrey so familiar to men that be unfortunate, as solitariness, and forgetfulness of their former estate. For they which make an account of their Friends pity and compassion, know not how soon their tears may dry up: no Creatures can love those faithfully whom they abhor. For as calamity of her own Nature is full of complaint; so Felicity is always proud, and every one doth use to think of his own Fortune, when he judgeth of his Neighbours: For except we had all been in misery, one of us long ago had been weary of another. What marvel is it then, though men in felicity seek alwaies their equals? My opinion is therefore, that we (who as men long ago were as dead in this life) seek us a place wherein we may bide our maimed members, and whereas exile may conceal our horrible deformities. If we shall return into our Countrey, being in this case, how can we but be unwelcome to our Wives whom we married young? Or shall our Children or our Brethren now acknowledge us, being the vomits of so many Prisons? and though all things should there succeed as we could wish, yet how small a number of us are able to travel through so many Countries? How is it possible for us that are here banished into the uttermost bounds of the Orient, being aged, impotent, and maimed, to endure those travells which have wearied men who have been both armed, and Conquerours? It is to be asked, what shall become of our Wives whom Chance and Necessity hath here procured us, for the only comfort of our imprisonment? what shall we do

do with our Children? Shall we take them with us, or leave them behinde us? If we return with such as we have here, none of those in Greece will acknowledge us; and shall we then be so mad to leave those comforts we have already, being uncertain whether we shall arrive at those which we desire, or not? Verily much better it were for us, to conceal our selves amongst them who have been acquainted with us in our misery.

These were Euclomon his words: but Theatus, the Athenian, reasoned to the contrary.

There is no wise man (quoth he) that will esteem us by our outward shape, seeing that our calamity is not come by Nature, but by the cruelty of our Enemies: Such as are ashamed of the injuries of Fortune, are well worthy to suffer misadventures: They give a grievous sentence upon the state of mans Mortality, and despair much of mercy, who deny their compassion to men in misery. Now therefore, since the gods have offered to you what ye durst never have wished for, that is, your Country, your Wives, and your Children, leaving the things which men esteem more than life, and redeme oftentimes with death, Why do you doubt for the enjoyment of those things, to break out of this imprisonment? I judge the Air of our own Country most natural to us, where there is a milder manner of living, other Customs, other Religion, and another tongue, which for the pleasantness of it, is coveted of the Barbarous Nations. What great things then be those which ye would willingly leave, the want of which onely is the cause of your misery? My Opinion is plain, that

we visit our Countrey and our Home, and not to refuse so great a benefit as Alexander hath proffered us. If any be detained with the love of such wives and children as they have gotten here in servitude, let such be no impediment to others, that esteem most their natural Countrey.

There were but few of this opinion; for custome, that is of greater force then nature, prevailed in that point. They agreed therefore to demand of Alexander the gift of some place to inhabit in, and chose out a hundred to be Petitioners to him in that behalf. When Alexander perceived them coming towards him, thinking that they would have required what he had conceived, he said unto them :

I have appointed to every one of you Beasts to carry you, and a thousand Deniers; and when you shall come to Greece, I will so well provide for you, that excepting your misfortune, no man shall think himself in better case then you.

But when he saw them looking still toward the ground, and that they neither lifted up their eyes, nor spake one word, he enquired the cause of their heaviness. Then Endemon rehearsed again those words in effect, which he had spoken before in Council. The King therefore pitying no less their demand, then he did their misfortune, commanded three thousand Deniers to be given to every one of them, and ten suits of apparel, with Cartel and Corn, whereby they might Till and Sow the Land that should be appointed to them. The next day he assembled all the Captains of his Army together, and represented to them, that there was no City more enemy to the Greeks then the same that was

was the chief Seat of the ancient Kings of Persia; from whence all the great Enemies had been sent into Greece: how *Darius* first, and after him *Xerxes*, had come out of that place to move their unjust War against *Europe*, with the destruction of which City he thought good to revenge the blood of their Predecessours. The Inhabitants had abandoned that City, and fled where their fear did drive them. Whereupon, the King straightways brought in all the *Phalanx* to the spoil thereof. He had before that time won many Cities; some by force, and some by composition, that were full of riches, and of Princes Treasure; but the abundance of that City did exceed all the rest, as being the place where the *Perians* had laid up all their substance: Gold and Silver was found in heaps, and great plenty of rich habiliments and furniture of houses, not only for necessary use, but for excess and ostentation; which was so great, that it gave the Conquerours occasion to fight for it amongst themselves, each taking other for their enemies that had gotten the richest spoil. The abundance there was such, that they could not employ the riches which they found; but when they saw things of value, they esteemed them rather, then took them away. At last, every one of them coveting to have a part of every thing, did tear and break asunder the Prince-ly Robes, and the precious Plate of curious workmanship, with the Images of Gold and Silver, which were plucked in pieces, as every one caught hold; nothing was left untouched, nor any thing carried away whole: cruelty bearing no less rule then covetousnes, every one was so laden with gold.

gold and silver, that they esteemed not the keeping of their prisoners, but killed such as at first they spared in hope of gain. There were many therefore that prevented their Enemies by a voluntary death; and divers cloathing themselves in their most precious apparel, leaped down from the walls with their wives and children. Certain there were that set their own houses on fire, (which they judged their Enemies would else have done) and burned themselves with their Family together. At length, the King did forbid any violence to be done to women, and that no man should meddle with any thing pertaining to them. The sum of money taken within this City, was greater then any man can well credit; but either we must doubt with others, or else believe what hath been left in memory, that the Treasure there found, amounted to a hundred and twenty thousand Talents: which Treasure, because *Alexander* would employ in his Wars, he caused Horses and Camels to be brought from *Suse* and *Babylon*, to convey the same. The taking of the City of *Persagadis*, wherein were found six thousand Talents, was an increase to this sum; which City being built by *Cyrus*, was yielded up by *Gobates*, who had the Government thereof.

Alexander left in the Castle of *Persepolis* three thousand *Macedons* in Garrison, under *Nicarides* Captain of the same, and reserved to *Tyridates*, that delivered him the Treasure, the same honour that he enjoyed with *Darius*. Leaving in this City the greater part of his Army, with his Carriages, under the Rule of *Parmenio* and *Craterus*, he with a thousand

thousand Horsemen, and a Band of Footmen, without any Baggage, went to visit in the Winter-season the inward parts of *Persia*: There he was vexed with Storms and Tempests that were in a manner intolerable; but yet he advanced forwards in his Enterprize, to the place appointed. In his march he came unto a Country that was covered with Snow, and frozen by the violence of the great cold. The melancholy of the Wilderness put the Souldiers that were wearied with travel in such a terrour, that they imagined they had seen the uttermost bounds of the world: For when they beheld all things waste, and no signe appearing of the habitation of men, they were amazed, and made request to return again, before that the Light and Elements should fail them. The King would not chasteise them, being in this terrour, but leaped from his Horse, and marched on foot before them in the Snow and the Ice: Which thing when his Friends saw, they could not for shame but follow; then the Captains did the like, and finally the Souldiers: The King was the first that made himself a way, by breaking the Ice with a Pick-Axe; whose example the rest did follow. At length, having passed the desolate Woods, they found here and there some appearance of habitation, and discovered Flocks of Sheep: When the Inhabitants, who dwelled in the Cottages dispersed thereabouts, saw armed men advancing, whom they judged to be their Enemies, thinking they had been inclosed about, they flew such as were not able to follow them, and fled themselves to the Mountains that were full of Snow. But at length, by communica-

tion with such as they took prisoners, their wildness was somewhat mitigated, and they yielded themselves to *Alexander*, who did them no hurt at all. When he had conquered all that part of *Perſia*, and brought the Towns under his obedience, he came into the Countrey of the warlike *Mardians*, who did differ much from the rest of the other *Perſians* in their manner of living: They with their wives and children did dig themselves Caves in the Mountains, and lived with the flesh of sheep and wilde Beasts: nor had the women any appearance or disposition more soft or milde then the men; their shagged hair hung down before upon their faces, and their garments came but to their knees; the bands of their Slings were fillets for their fore-heads, which they used both for ornament and defence. This Nation, for all their uncivility could not escape from being subdued with the same force of fortune that others were; so that on the thirtieth day after he departed from *Perſopolis*, he returned to it again. Then he gave rewards to his friends, and to all the rest according to their deservings, distributing in a manner all the riches which he found within that City. But all the excellent vertues of his minde, his Princely qualities, wherein he excelled all Kings, that constancy in all dangers, that dexterity in contriving and performing all Enterprizes, the keeping of his promise with those that submitted, his clemency towards prisoners, and that temperance in lawfull and accustomary pleasures, were all defaced through the intollerable desire and delight he had in drinking. For notwithstanding that his Enemy,

my which contended with him for the Empire, did make then great Levies for the Wars, and was gathering his power together; and although the people newly conquered were not yet in a quiet subjection, yet he gave himself continually to feasting and banqueting, where women were ever present; not such to whom men had respect for honesty, but Harlots, who had in the Camp more liberty, then beseemed the discipline of men of War.

Amongst them there was one *Thais*, who upon a day in her drunkenness, affirmed to *Alexander*, that he should wonderfully win the favour of the Greeks, if he would command the Palace of *Persepolis* to be set on fire; the destruction whereof (she said) they greatly desired; for so much as the same was the Seat of the Kings of *Persia*, which in times past had destroyed so many of their Cities. When the drunken Harlot had given her Sentence, a second and a third (they being likewise drunk) confirmed her words. *Alexander*, who then had in him more inclination to heat then patience, said, *Why do we not then revenge Greece, and set this City on fire?* They were all high with Wine, and rose immediately upon those words to burn that City in their drunkenness, which the men of War had spared in their fury. The King himself first, and after him his Guests, his Servants, and his Concubines set fire on the Palace; which being builded for the most part of Cedar, became suddenly on a flame. When the Army that was encamped near unto the City beheld the fire, which they thought had been kindled by some casualty, they came running to quench

quench the same : But when they saw the King there present nourishing the flame , they poured out the water which they brought , and helped likewise to increase the fire .

Thus the Palace that was the Head of the whole Orient , from whence so many Nations before had fetched their Laws to live under ; the Seat of so many Kings , the only Ferrour sometimes of Greece , that had set forth a Navy of ten thousand Ships , and Armies that overflowed all Europe ; who made Bridges over the Sea , and undermined Mountains where the Sea hath now his course , was consumed , and had his end , and never rose again in all the Ages that did ensue ; for the Kings of Macedonia made choice of other Cities , which are now in the hands of the Parthians . The destruction of this City was sooth , that the Foundation thereof , at this day , cannot be found , but that the river of Araxes doth shew where it stood , which was distant from Persepolis twenty furlongs , as the Inhabitants rather do believe then know . The Macedons were ashamed that so Noble a City was destroyed by their King in his drunkenness : yet at length it was turned into a work that carried gravity in the performance ; and they were content to think it expedient , that the City shoulde have been so destroyed . But it is certain , that when Alexander had taken his rest , and was better advised , he repented him of this deed , and said , That the Persians shoulde have done the Greeks more harm , if it had been his chance to have Reigned in Xerxes stead . The next day he gave thirty Talents for a reward to him that was his Guide into Persia ; and from thence he advanced

advanced forwards into *Media*, where a new supply of Souldiers (of whom *Plato* of *Athens* had the Conduct) came to him out of *Cilicia*, being five hundred Footmen, and a thousand Horsemen.

When he had by this means increased his power, he determined to pursue *Darius*, who was come to *Ecbatana*, the Head City of *Media*, and was purposed from thence to have passed into *Bactria*: But fearing to be prevented by the speed which his Enemies made, he altered his purpose, and his journey. *Alexander* was not come near by fifty hundred furlongs; but he could not think any distance sufficient to defend him against his celerity; and therefore prepared himself rather to fight, then to fly: He had with him thirty thousand Footmen, amongst whom there was four thousand *Greeks*, whose Fidelity never failed in all his adverse Fortune: He had also four thousand Archers and Slingers, besides thirty three hundred *Bactrian* Horsemen, which were under *Bessus* charge, being Governour both of the City of *Bactria*, and the Country. *Darius*, with those Forces, withdrew a little from the highway, and commanded such as had charge of the Carriage to pass on before: He called a Councel, where he spake to this effect:

If Fortune had matched me with Cowards, and with such as preferred a vile life before an honest death, I would rather have held my peace, then at this instant consume words in vain; But I have had greater experience then I could wish, both of your valour and fidelity towards me: So that I for my part, ought rather to seem worthy to have such Friends as you are, then to doubt whether ye yet remain

remain the same men towards me ye were before ;
For of so many thousands that were under my Em-
pire , you only have followed and adhered to me :
Though I have been twice overthrown in the Field,
and twice inforced to fly away , your fidelity and
your constancy doth make me think that I remain
still a King . Traitors and Fugitives do reign in my
Cities ; not for that they be thought worthy of
such honour , but that you might be provoked by
their rewards to revolt against me . Notwithstan-
ding you have chosen rather to follow me in my
misfortune , then be partakers of the felicity of the
Conquerours . You are worthy , whom the Gods
shall reward if I may not , as undoubtedly they
will . There can no Posterity be so silent , nor
Fame so ungrateful , which shall not with due com-
mendations extol you to the Stars . Though I had
within me thoughts of Flight , whereunto my heart
never agreed ; yet I have now conceived such a
trust of your Virtue and Manhood , that I purpose
to advance against my Enemy : How long shall I
be as a banished man within mine own Dominion ,
and flee from a strange and Forreign Prince within
the bounds of mine own Kingdom ? When may
I by hazarding the Battel , either recover what I
have lost , or else die an honourable death ? Ex-
cept peradventure it seemeth better to some men ,
that I should submit my self to my enemies will ,
and by the Example of Mazeus and Mithenes , re-
ceive by Petition the Dominion of some one Nation ;
wherein I judge that Alexander had rather follow
the inclination of his glory , then of his wrath .
No , let the gods never grant , that it may lie in a

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mans power, either to take away, or give unto me this Liadem upon my head; nor that I lose this Empire, so long as I have breath. For in this I am resolvēd, that my Life and my Kingdom shall end both together. If this minde, if this resolution remain in you, there is none of you that can want liberty, there is none that shall be compelled to endure the arrogancy of your Enemies. Every mans right hand shall give unto himself either a revenge, or an end of his evils. I my self am an Example of Fortune; and therefore it is not without cause that I look for a better change. And if the worst fall out, that the gods do continue against us in our Wars that be lawfull and honest; yet this cannot be denied, but that we may manfully and honestly die. I require and conjure you, by the honour of our Predecessours, who with such Fame and Glory have possessed the Kingdomes of the whole Orient; by those men to whom Macedon sometimes was tributary, by so many Navies of Ships sent, into Greece, and by so many Victories won, that ye will take such courage unto you, as may seem worthy your Nobility and your Nation; and that with the same constancy of minde wherewith you have endured things past, you attempt whatsoever Fortune shall produce hereafter. I am resolved for my part, to purchase to my self a perpetual Fame, either by Victory, or by some notable Adventure in the Fight.

When Darius had spoken these words, the representation of the present peril so amazed them all, that they were not able either to shew their advice, or to speak a word, until such time as

Artabasus, the most ancient of his Friends (who before-time had been with King *Philip*) began to declare his resolution :

We are come into the Field (quoth he) *with you that are our King, in our most precious Apparel, and richest Armour, with intent to win the Victory; and we do neither despair of Victory, nor do we refuse to die.*

To those words all the rest with one voice seemed to agree, saving *Nabarzanes*, who being present in that Council with *Bessus*, and of his Opinion, conspired a Treason so prodigious; that the like hath seldom been heard of: Their determination was, by force of the Souldiers they had under their charge, to put their King in hold; with this purpose, that if *Alexander* pursued them, to deliver him then alive into his hands, to win thereby his favour, as a thing which they thought he would greatly esteem: But if they could escape conveniently, then they were in minde to kill *Darius*, and dividing the Kingdom betwixt them, renew again the War against the *Macedons*. They having imagined this Treason long before in their mindes, *Nabarzanes* thought this an occasion to make a preparative to his wicked intent, by this perswasion which he uttered :

I am confident (quoth he) *that I shall speak what at the first appearance shall not be grateful unto your ears: But Physitians use to cure Diseases that be great, with sharp and bitter Medicines: And the Ship-Masters, when they fear a Ship-wreck, as custome to redeem such things as may be saved, with the destruction and loss of the rest: Let this*

what

what I shall persuade unto is not to your detriment, but an Expedient by what means you may preserve your self and your Kingdom. We make a War wherein the gods seem manifestly to be against us, and fortune ceaseth not obstinately to pursue us: It is needful therefore that we lay new Foundations, and seek out men who have other Fortunes: My Opinion is, that you deliver up your Kingdom unto some mans bands who shall have the Name of King, so long as your Enemies are within Asia: And when they be once departed (which my minde giveth me to be shortly) we shall restore unto you the same again: The Country of Bactria is yet untouched; the Indians and Sacans be at your appointment: so many People, so many Armies, so many thousands of Horsemen and Footmen have their Forces in readiness to renew this War: So that a much greater Force remaineth, then that which the War hath consumed. Why do we then like Beasts, wilfully run to a destruction that is not necessary? It is the property of such as are men of courage, rather to despise death, then to hate life; and oftentimes, by weariness of travel, Cowards are driven to take little regard of themselves; but Virtue leaving nothing unproved, and Death being the end of all things, it is sufficient if we go not to it like Sluggards: Therefore if we shall go unto Bactria, which is now our next Refuge, let us, for the present, make Bessus our King, who is already Ruler of that Country; and when the Affairs be once brought to some stay, we shall restore to you the Empire again, as to their Right King.

Although Darius perceived not the greatness of the mischief that lay hidden under his wicked

words, yet it was no marvel that he could not abstain; for he turned towards him, and said, *Thou vile Slave, hast thou now found out a time meet to disclose the Treason that lyeth in thy heart?* And therewithal he pulled out his Sword to have slain him, if *Bessus*, and the other *Bactrians* about him, had not hindred his purpose. These pretended to be sorry for the matter, but minded in very deed to binde him, if he had continued in his purpose.

In the mean season, *Nabarzanes* escaped away, and *Bessus* followed after; who immediately did separate the Bands they had charge of from the rest of the Army, because they would use them apart to their own purpose. When they were departed, *Artabasus* framed his talk according to the estate of the time then present, and began to pacifie *Darius* with words, putting him in remembrance, how his case was such, that it behoved him to bear quietly the foolishnes, or rather the errour of his own men, for as much as *Alexander* was at hand, too sore an Enemy for them, although there were no disobedience: But if we shall be at variance (quoth he) when he does pursue us, our affairs shall stand in very evil condition. Thereupon *Darius* inclined somewhat to *Artabasus* advice; and though he was minded to remove, yet because he perceived every man to be troubled in minde, he remained still in the same place. But he himself was so astonished with sorrow and desperation, that he kept himself close, and came not forth of his Pavilion: Whereupon the Camp being without Government, the Heads not consulting together as they did before,

fore, there arose amongst them a great diversity of Opinions, and motions of minde: Which thing when *Patron* saw, that was Captain of the Greek Souldiers, he willed his men to put on their Armour, to be in a readiness to do as they should be appointed: The *Persians* incamped by themselves, and *Bessus* remained amongst the *Bactriuns*, practising to carry away the *Persians* into *Bactria*, and to leave *Darius*; signifying to them the riches of that Region yet untouched, and the peril they were in if they remained there; but they were all in a manner of one Opinion, that it was an over-great offence for them to forsake their Prince:

In the mean season, *Artabasus* executed the Kings Office, and went amongst the *Persians* in their lodgings, admonishing and exhorting them, sometimes apart, and otherwhile all together, and would never leave them, before it appeated that they would do as the King would have them. That done, with great pain and difficulty, he perswaded *Darius* to take his meat, and set his minde upon his busyness.

But *Bessus* and *Nabarzanes* were so greedy to get the Government into their hands, that they resolv'd to put in execution the thing they had long conspired betwixt them; for so long as *Darius* was in safety, they could not hope to compass nor attain so great Authority. The Majesty of a King is had in great Veneration amongst those Nations, at whose Name only they assemble together; and the Reverence used to them in their prosperity, causeth men to shew them the like obedience in aduersity: The greatness and power of those Countries, where-

of Bessus and Nabarzanes had the Rule, not being inferior to any other Nations in that part of the world, either in men, in furniture, or largeness of their Territory, gave a great incouragement unto their wicked dispositions, in attempting of this matter: For they possessing the third part of *Azia*, were able to make as great a number of men as *Darius* before had lost. In confidence whereof, they not only despised *Darius*, but *Alexander* himself; purposing, when they were once become Lords of that Country, to re-inforce from thence again the power of the Empire, and maintain the Wars against the *Macedons*.

When they had long devised and debated these things, they determined to take *Darius* by the *Bardian* Souldiers, of whom they had the Rule; and then to send word to *Alexander*, that they reserved him alive, to deliver him into his hands: And if so be that *Alexander* should not accept it, which indeed they doubted, then their purpose was to kill *Darius*, and with their power to fly into *Bardia*. But for so much as they saw that *Darius* could not be taken openly, seeing there were so many thousands ready to aid him, and fearing also the fidelity of the *Greeks*, they determined to work by night, the thing that they could not bring to pass by force. The plot was, to counterfeit a repentance of their former doings, in excusing unto the King the fear they were in; and in the mean season, they sent certain to practise with the *Persians*, and to prove their mindes. The Souldiers were tossed to and fro with hope and fear; sometime they thought, that by leaving of their King, they should commit them-

themselves to manifest ruine and destruction: And again, they remembred what entertainment was promised them in *Bactria*, that lay open for them, where they should be received with such gifts and riches, as they could not well imagine.

Whiles *Bessus* and *Nabarzanes* were beating of these things in their heads, *Artabasus* came unto them, declaring how *Darius* was well pacified, and that they might, if they would, be in the same Estate and Degree with him that they were before. Thereupon they fell to weeping, and purging themselves; requiring *Artabasus*, that he would take upon him the defence of their Cause, and carry their Request and Submission unto the King. The night was consumed in this kinde of bulinets: When it was day, *Nabarzanes*, with the *Bactrian* Souldiers, stood at the Entry of the Kings Lodging, colouring his privy Treason with the solemn pretence of doing his duty: *Darius* caused warning to be given for his remove; and so mounted upon his Chariot, after his accustomed manner. *Nabarzanes*, and the other Traytors, fell upon the ground to worship him, and shed tears in token of repentance; notwithstanding that they determined shortly after to put him in Fetters; so apt is the nature of man to dissimulation. *Darius* being of a simple and gentle Nature, was inforced through their behaviour, not only to believe what they pretended, but also it caused him to weep for joy: yee that could not cause the Traytors to alter their purpose, when they perceived what kinde of man, and what manner of Prince they went about to deceive. *Darius* doubting nothing of his peril that was next

at hand, made all the haste he could to escape *Alexander*, whom he only doubted. *Patron*, that was Captain of the *Grecians*, commanded his Soldiers to put on their Harness, which they carried before in Trusses, and to be ready, and attend to every thing that should be appointed them: For he understanding the Treason that was contrived, followed the Kings Chariot, seeking occasion to speak with him.

And *Bessus* doubting the same thing, would not depart from the Chariot, but followed rather as a Watch then a Waiter. *Patron* therefore having tarried long, and being interrupted oftentimes as he was about to speak, stood in a stay, betwixt fear and fidelity, beholding the King in the face. When *Darius* perceived that he beheld him after that manner, he willed *Bubace*, his Eunuch, that rode next him, to enquire of *Patron* if he had any thing to say to him: *Patron* said, *Yes*: but his matter was such, as he would no man should hear. Then he was willed to come near; and (without any Interpreter) *Darius* understanding somewhat of the Greek Tongue, *Patron* said unto him:

Sir; Of fifty thousand Greeks that served you, there is a small number of us remaining, which have continually followed you in all Fortunes, bearing unto you the same fidelity and affection that we did in your most flourishing Estate: And we were determined, wheresoever you are, to take that for our Country and home; both Prosperity and Adversity hath so coupled us together: By which Invincible Fidelity that is in us, I desire you, and require you, that you would vouchsafe to lodge within our Camp, and suffer us

us to be the Guard of your Person. We have lost Greece, we have no Bactria to go unto ; all our hope is in you , and the gods grant that all other men may do the like. It is not necessary I should speak any more ; nor would I demand the custody of your Person, being an Alien and a Stranger , if I knew that others were as well-minded towards you.

Although Bessus were ignorant of the Greek Tongue , yet his Conscience pricked him to believe, that Patron had disclosed something ; and therefore carrying away some part of his words, by a Greek Interpreter became out of doubt : *Darius* nothing afraid, as it appeared by his Countenance , enquired of Patron what moved him to give such advice ? Whereupon , he thought not good to defer it any longer , but said ; Bessus and Nabarzanes work Treason against you , so that your Life and your Estate stand in extreme peril ; and this day shall be the last, either to the Traytors, or to you. Whole words, if *Darius* had well weighed and regarded , Patron had received the glory of the preservation of the Prince. But let them mock that list , who say that the state of men is governed by Chance : I do believe every man runneth his Race by an Immutable Order , and by a concatenation everlasting appointment unknown, appointed long before. *Darius* answer was :

That although the fidelity of the Greek Soldiers was sufficiently known unto him , yet he was determined never to depart from his own Nation , by whom though he might be deceived , yet it was hard for him to mistrust them : Whatsoever should befall him , he said , he was minded rather to suffer it amongst his

own Subjects, then to part away from them; not desiring to live, if his own Soldiers desired not his Safeguard.

Whereupon *Patron* despairing of the Kings welfare, returned them of whom he had the charge, ready to adventure any thing for his sake. *Bes-sus*, in the mean season, had absolutely determined to slay *Darius*; but fearing that he could not win *Alexanders* favour, except he delivered his Enemy into his hands alive, deferred his purpose to the night following.

In the mean season, he came to *Darius*, and gave him thanks that he had so warily, and with such wisdom, avoided the Treason of that false *Grecian*, who being corrupted by *Alexander*, sought nothing but how to make a pretent of his head; whereat (he said) *He could not marvel that a Mercenary man should leave any thing undone for Money, being without any Pledge of his Honesty, without house and home, banished out of the world; a fair Friend, and a doubtful Enemy; tossed here and there at the beck of all men that would corrupt him.* And then he fell to purging of himself, calling the gods of his Country to witness his Innocency in this matter.

Darius, by his countenance, seemed to believe him; yet he doubted not of the truth of what *Patron* had told him: but he was come to such a point, that it was as dangerous for him not to believe his own men, as to be deceived. There were thirty thousand, whose lightness was feared to have consented to this Conspiracy; and *Patron* had but four thousand, unto whom if he had committed his safe-

ty, and thereby condemned the fidelity of his own Nation, he saw that then they might have had a goodly colour and pretence to perform their Enterprize; and therefore chose rather to be killed Innocently, than to give any occasion whereby he should seem to have deserved death: And yet when Bessus purged himself, he answered, *That he knew that there was no less Justice in Alexander, than Manhood; and that they were deceived that looked for any Rewards of Treason at his hands; knowing there was none a greater Punisher or Revenger of the breach of Fidelity.* When the night drew near, the Persians, after their accustomed manner, put off their Armcur, and repaired to the next Villages, to provide things necessary: But the Bactrians, as Bessus had commanded them, stood still armed. In the mean season, Darius had sent for Artabasus, and shewed him what Patron had declared: Whereupon Artabasus made no doubt, but that he would straightways commit himself among the Greeks; thinking that the Persians, when the Kings peril should be published abroad, would joyn with the Grecians: Yet Darius, predestinate to his chance, could not hear that saving counsel, nor sought for any help in that case, but imbraced Artabasus, as though he should never see him more; and being wet with the tears that one of them let fall upon the other, he caused Artabasus to be removed from him; and because he would not see his sorrow in departing from him, he covered his face, and fell flat upon the ground: Then such as were accustomed to the Guard of his Person, who should have been his Defence in all perils, fled away,

thinking

thinking themselves over-weak for such a number of armed men as they supposed to be coming : There was a great solitariness within *Darius* his lodging ; for none remained about the King but a few Eunuchs, that had no place to repair unto : Then he debated and devised with himself alone , sometime one thing , and sometime another ; and anon he waxed weary of that solitariness , in which before he took a comfort , and called *Bubace* unto him , whom he beheld , and said :

Go, provide for your selves, who, according to your duties, have been true to your Prince till the last hour ; here I do tarry for the fatal Law of my destiny : Peradventure you do marvel that I do not end mine own life ; I had rather dye through other mens wickedness, than by mine own.

After these words , *Bubace* filled both the Kings lodging , and also the whole Camp with mourning and lamentation ; and divers brake into the place where *Darius* was , and tearing their cloaths , bewailed his case with a great lamentation . When the cry came unto the Persians , they were so amazed with fear , that they durst neither put on their Armour , lest they might give occasion to the *Babarians* to set upon them ; nor could they remain quiet , lest they might so wickedly leave their King .

Then were clamours heard throughout the Camp of divers sorts , without any Head , and without any appointment . Such as pertained to *Nabarzane* and *Bessus* , deceived by such lamentation as they heard , brought tidings to the rest , that the King had killed himself : Whereupon , they repaired thither

ther so fast as they could gallop; and such Followed after, as were chosen to be Ministers of their Mischief. When they were entred into the Kings Pavilion, because the Eunuchs declared that he was alive, they commanded him to be bound.

Thus he, who before was carried in a Chariot, and honoured of his men like a god, was made a prisoner by his own Servants, without any Foreign Power; and put into a vile Cart, and covered over with Beasts skins: and spoil was made of the Kings Stuff, in such sort, as if it had been taken in the Wars. When they had laden themselves with the Prey got after so foul a manner, they conveyed themselves into their Countries: But *Artabasus*, with those of whom he had the charge, and with the Greek Souldiers, took their way towards *Parthina*; thinking to be more sure any where, then in the Fellowship of those Traytors. The *Perians*, whom *Bessus* had overcome with so many fair promises, specially because they had no other man to follow, joyned themselves to the *Bardians*, and the third day overtook them. But to the intent *Darius* should not want such honour as was due to his Estate, *Bessus* caused him to be bound with Golden Fetters; such were the despites that his Fortune made him subject unto: And for that he should not be known by his Apparel, they covered the Cart with foul Hides of Beasts, and caused unknown men to drive it forwards: and lest by enquiry in the Army he might be discovered, such as had the charge of him followed afar off.

When *Alexander* heard that *Darius* was removed to *Ecbatana*, he left the way that he was in, and with

with all the speed he could make followed after *Darius*, who was said to be gone into *Media*. But when *Alexander* was come to *Taba*, which is the Chief City of *Paratacene*, it was there shewed him by Fugitives that came out of *Darius* Camp, how he was fled with all speed into *Bactria*; and afterward understood the matter more certainly by *Bagittines* of *Babylon*, who could not say directly, that *Darius* was used as a prisoner; but said, that either he was in danger of death, or of captivity. *Alexander*, upon that intelligence, called his Captains together, and shewed them that he had a great Enterprize, but such a one as the travel was very short; *Darius* (he said) was not far off, forsaken of his own men; and either taken as a prisoner, or else slain: in whose person he shewed the whole Victory to consist, and the greatness of the matter to be a reward of their halte making. They all cryed with one voice, that they were ready to follow him wheresoever he should go; and that he should not spare their labour, nor their peril: Whereupon he conveyed his Army forwards with marvellous speed, rather in Post, then after the common order of Marching; neither resting day nor night, till they passed five hundred furlongs, and came to the Bridge where *Darius* was taken: There *Melan*, *Darius* Interpreter, who by reason of his tickness could not follow the Army, was taken by *Alexanders* celerity; who feigning that he fled from his Master, declared the whole matter; But how great soever his desire was to overtake his Enemies, it was necessary for him to give his men rest in their travel: So that determining to leave the rest

rest of his Army behinde, he did chuse out six thousand Horsemen, and added to them three hundred, called *Dimichas*, that were Footmen, heavy harnessed, but yet riding on Horseback; and when the occasion required, alighted and fought on foot. When *Alexander* was taking order about these things, *Orsellus* and *Mithracenes*, who for the hatred they bare to *Bessus* for his Treason, fled from him, declared to the King, that the *Persians* were but five hundred furlongs off, and proffered to guide him by a nearer way. Their coming was grateful to the King; for by their Conduct, in the beginning of the night, he took his journey with such Horsemen as he had appointed, willing his Foot-Battel to follow after with all speed possible. He marched forwards in a square Battel; and kept such an order, that the first might joyn with the last, and such as came behinde relieve them that went before.

When they had passed three hundred furlongs on their way, *Broculus*, the Son of *Mazeus*, that sometime had been Governour of *Syria*, met *Alexander*, and declared, that *Bessus* was within two hundred furlongs, marching with his men out of all order, as one that did cast no doubts: It seemed to him (he said) that they went towards *Hircania*; wherefore, if halte were made, they might soon be overtaken, and found dispersed out of all Array. And by reason he affirmed also, that *Darius* was yet alive, *Alexander* that was hot before in the pursuit, was with his words much more quickned forwards; so that he caused them to put Spurs to their Horses, and in a gallop followed so fast, that

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they might hear the noise of their Enemies as they marched : but the dust that did rise, obscured their sight ; and therefore he stayed a while, till the dust was vanished away : Then both *Bessus* perceived the *Macedons*, and they saw the *Perians* as they fled ; notwithstanding, they had not been able to have marched with them, if *Bessus* had had as great courage to fight , as he had to betray his Master : For besides that they exceeded the *Macedons* in number and power, the *Macedons* fore-wearied and over-travelled, should have had to do with them that were lusty and fresh : But the Name of *Alexander*, and his Fame, which was of great moment in the Wars, put them in such fear, that they could not stay themselves.

Then *Bessus*, and others that were Partners in this Conspiracy , came to the Cart where *Darius* was , and perswaded him to leap on Horseback, and fly from his Enemies that were at hand : But he cryed out , that the gods were come to his revenge ; and calling for the assistance of *Alexander*, said , *That in no wise he would go with Traytors* : Whereat they were so stirred to wrath , that they threw darts at him , and left him wounded in many places of his body : They thrust the Beasts into their bodies that drew the Cart , to the intent they should not be able to pass forwards ; and slew his two Servants that did attend upon him. When they had committed this act, they thought it expedient to disperse themselves in their flying ; and so *Nabarzanes* took his way to *Hircania*, and *Bessus* to *Bactria*, with a few Horsemen that each of them had in their Company.

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When their Souldiers were thus forsaken of their Captains, they were scattered here and there, as their fear did lead them: There were only five hundred Horsemen who assembled themselves together, and stood in a doubt, whether it were better to resist, or to fly. *Alexander* understanding the fear his Enemies were in, sent *Nicanor* before with part of his Horsemen to keep them on work, and he with the rest followed after. There were slain to the number of three thousand of such as stood on their defence, and the rest were driven in flocks like beasts, from killing of whom, *Alexander* commanded his men to abstain. Amongst all the prisoners, there was none that was able to shew the Cart that carried *Darius*; for every one was so desirous to finde him, that as they saw any Cart, they sought him therein, and yet they could not perceive by any means what was become of him. *Alexander* made such haste, that scarcely three thousand Horsemen followed him of all his Cavalry; but great numbers of the Persians fell into their Laps that followed behinde. It is scarcely to be believed, that there should be more prisoners taken, then there were men to take them: But Fortune in that fear had so taken away their sense, that they could not consider their own multitude, nor the small number of their Enemies. In the mean season, the Beasts which drew *Darius* Waggon, having no man to govern them, were swerved out of the high-way, and wandring here and there, had drawn *Darius* four furlongs from the place where he was wounded, into a Valley, where they fainted, by reason of their heat and their hunts.

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There was a Spring at hand, which certain that knew the Country had shewed to Polistratus a Macedon, that was overcome with thirst: and while he was drinking the water out of his Helmet, he espied the Beasts that were thrust in with Darts; and marvelling that they were not rather carried away, then hurt after that manner, he looked; and found in the Waggon the body of a man half alive; and at length perceived it was Darius that lay there sore wounded, and drawing his last breath: Then Polistratus brought to him a Persian, whom he had taken prisoner; whom when Darius knew by his voice to be of his Country, he said, *That he took it for some comfort in his present fortune, that he should speak before he died to one that understood him, and not utter his last words in vain.*

He required him to declare unto Alexander, that though he had never deserved any thing at his hands, yet it was his chance to die greatly his Debtor; and had thanks to give him, for the favour and goodness that he had shewed towards his Mother, his Wife, and his Children; to whom he had not only granted life, but also the Reverence due to their former Estate and Dignity; whereas he, of his own Kinsmen and Friends, to whom he had given both Life and Lands, was now by them bereaved of all. He prayed therefore, that he might always be Conquerour, and that the Empire of the whole world might come into his hands; requiring, that he would not neglect to take revenge of so foul an act, not only for his cause, but for an example, and for the honour of other Princes; which should be a thing worthy of him, and profitable to his Successors in time to come.

When

When he had spoke these words, he fainted, and calling for water, after he had drunk, said to Polistratus that presented it unto him: *Whatsoever thou art, this is unto me the last misery in all my adverse chance, that I am not able to requite this benefit; but Alexander shall reward thee, and the gods shall requite him for his great Humanity and Clemency shew-ed towards mine; unto whom thou shalt give my bands as a Pledge of a Kings Promise.*

Having spoken these words, and given Polistratus his hand, he died. When his sayings were reported to Alexander, he repaired where the dead Corpse lay, and with tears lamented, that it was his chance to die a death so unworthy of so great a personage; and taking off his own Cloak to cover the dead body, he adorned the same with all things that pertained to a King, and sent it to his Mother Sisigambis, to be buried in such sort as the Country manner was to bury Kings, and to be laid amongst the rest of his Predecessours.

THE



THE
SIXTH BOOK
OF
QUINTUS CURTIUS.

Of the Acts of Alexander the Great, King of Ma-
cedon.

A great part of the Sixth Book is defective; wherein was contained the Cause of the War betwixt the Lacedemonians and Macedons, with the preparation of both Nations to the Battel that was fought betwixt Antipater, Alexanders Lieutenant in Macedonia, and the Kings of the Lacedemonians.

HE pressed forwards where the fight was most dangerous, and put the greater part of his Enemies to flight: Then such as were Conquerours before began to fly, till they had drawn their Enemies, greedily following them, out of the streight, into a more plain ground: In the Retreat many of them were slain; but when they had once recovered such a ground where they might stay and fall in order, the Battels joyned equal on both sides. Amongst them all, the King of the Lacedemonians appeared most notable in all mens eyes, not so

much

much by the beauty of his Armour and goodly Personage, as through the greatness of his courage, wherein only he could not be overcome. He was assailed at on all parts, both near at hand, and afar off: Yet for all that, he endured long in Arms against his Enemies, avoiding their strokes, part with his Target, and part with his Body, till such time as he was thrust through both Thighs with a Spear, when by great effusion of blood, he was not able any longer to endure the fight: Then the Esquires of his body took him up upon his Target, and carried him into their Camp, when with great pain he indured the stirring of his wounds. The Lacedemonians, for all their Kings departure, gave not over the fight; but as soon as they could recover any ground of advantage, they rallied themselves, and received stoutly their Enemies that came full upon them. There is not found in any memory, of a Battel more vehemently fought then that, where the Armies of two Nations that were most excellent in the Wars, contended together for the Victory, not yet inclining to any part: The Lacedemonians called to minde their Ancient Manhood and Prowess, and the Macedons considered their present estimation they had in the world: The Lacedemonians strived for their liberty; and the Macedons for the Soveraignty; the one part lacked a Captain, and the other room to fight in. The manifold adventures and chances that fell that day, encreased both the hope and fear of both parties; fortune, as it were of purpose, bringing such valiant men to fight together, neither of them prevailing upon other: But the streightness of the place

where they fought, did not suffer them to joyn with their whole force at once, for more were beholders then fighters; and such as stood without danger, encouraged the others with their cry. At length the *Lacedemonians* began to faint, and scarcely able for sweating to sustain their Armour, began to draw back, to have the more liberty to flee from their Enemies that press'd sore upon them.

When they were once broken and scattered abroad, the Conquerours pursued after; and passing the place whereupon the *Lacedemonians*. Battel was first arranges, made a sore pursuit upon *Agis*: who seeing his men flying, and his Enemies approach at hand, willed his men to set him down; where stretching himself, to feel if the force of his body could answer unto his heart, when he found himself unable to stand, remaining upon his knees, put on his Helmet; and covering his body with his Target, shaked his Spear, and provoked his enemies to draw near, if any were desirous of his spoil: but there was not one that press'd near him, but did cast Darts afar off, which he always took, and threw at his Enemies again, till such time as he was thrust into the bare breast with a Spear: But when the same was pulled out of the wound, he fainted; and bowing himself upon his Target, shortly after fell down dead, blood and life failing both together. There were slain of the *Lacedemonians* 5340, and of the *Macedonians* not above three hundred; but there was scarcely any of them that escaped unwounded. This Victory not only brake the hearts of the *Lacedemonians*, and of their Confede-

Confederates; but also of others who lay in wait, looking for the success of that War.

Antipater was not ignorant how the countenances of such as did gratifie his Victory, differed much from the intents of their hearts: but desirous to finish the Wars that were begun, he perceived it necessary for him to dissemble, and suffer himself to be deceived: And though he rejoiced much in the Fortune of the Battel, yet he feared the envy that might ensue thercof, it being a greater matter then the Estate of a Lieutenant did bear. For Alexander was of such a nature, that he desired his Enemies had won the Victory; shewing manifestly, that he was not contented with Antipaters good success; thinking that whatsoever chanced to another man, was a derogation to his own glory. Antipater therefore, who knew full well his stomach, durst not use the Victory according to his will, but assembled a Council of Greeks, to advise what they thought expedient: The Lacedemonians made no other request, but that they might send Embassadors to Alexander, who upon their Address to him, and their suit made, obtained a General Pardon for all men, saving for such as were the Authors of the Rebellion. The Megapolitans, whose City did abide the Siege, were compelled to pay, as a Fine for their Rebellion, twenty Talents to the Athenians and the Aetolians. This was the end of the War, which being suddenly begun, was ended before Alexander had overthrown Darius at Arbella. As soon as his minde was delivred of those present cares, as one that could bear better the wars then quietness, he gave himself up to

pleasures, by the vices whereof he was overcome, whom no power of the Persians, or any other, were able to subdue. He was given to banqueting out of season, and to a fond delight of drinking, and watching in Plays amongst Flocks of Concubines, that drew him into strange manners and customes: which he following, as things more pleasing then his Country Customes, offended thereby greatly both the eyes and the hearts of his Nation; and caused many that loved him before entirely, to hate him then as an Enemy: For the Macedons, that were obstinate in keeping their own Discipline, and unaccustomed to be curious, being so penurious in their Diet as might suffice Nature only, when they saw him go about to bring in amongst them the Vices of those Nations which they had subdued, Conspiracies began to be made against him, Mutinies arose amongst the Souldiers, and every one complaining to another, freely uttered their griefs, whereby he was provoked to wrath, to suspicion, and sudden fear; Divers other inconveniences ensuing thereupon, which shall be declared hereafter.

Alexander being given, as hath been said before, to unreasonable banqueting, wherein he consumed both day and night; when he was satisfied with eating and drinking, he passed the rest of the time in Plays and Pastimes: And not contented with such Musicians as he brought out of Greece, caused the Women, that were Captives, to sing before him such Songs as abhorred the ears of the Macedonians, not accustomed to such things. Amongst those Women, Alexander espied one more sad then the rest,

rest, who with a certain shamefac'dnes did strive with them that brought her forth: She was of excellent Beauty, and by her Modesty her Beauty was much augmented: And because she did cast her eyes towards the earth, and covered her face so much as she might, she gave suspition for him to think that she was descended of Noble Parentage: And therefore being demanded what she was, she shewed her self to be the Niece of *Occhus* that lately reigned in *Perſia*; and the Wife of *Hitespis*, who was *Darius* Kinsman, and had been his Lieutenant over many great Armies. There yet remained in the Kings heart some small sparks of his former Vertue; for in respect of her Estate, being descended of the Blood of Kings, and in Reverence he bare to such a Name as the Niece of *Occhus*, he commanded her not only to be set free, but also to be restored to her Goods, and her Husband, whom he willed to be sought out.

The next day he appointed *Ephialtion* to bring all the prisoners to the Court, where inquiring of the Nobility of every one, he commanded them who were descended of Noble Blood, to be severed from the rest; amongst whom they found *Oxatres*, Brother to *Darius*, that was no less Noble of minde then of blood: There were made of the last spoil twenty six thousand Talents, wherof twelve thousand were consumed in rewards amongst the Men of War; and the sum amounted to no lesse value, that was conveyed away by them that had the keeping thereof. There was one *Oxidates*, a Noble man of *Perſia*, that was imprisoned by *Darius*, and appointed to suffer death, whom *Alexander* delivered,

delivered, and gave unto him the Seignory of *Media*, and received *Darius Brother* amongst the number of his Friends, reserving to him all the accustomed honour of his Nobility. Then they came to the Country of *Parthenia*, being then but obscure and unknown, but now the Head of all those Countries which lye upon *Tygris* and *Euphrates*, and bounded with the Red Sea. This Country being fruitful and abundant in all things, was conquered by the *Scythians*, who possessing part of *Asia* and *Europe*, are troublesome Neighbours to them both.

The *Scythians*, who inhabit upon the *Bospheron Sea*, are ascribed to be in *Asia*; and such as be in *Europe*, possess the Countries lying on the left part of *Thrace*, so far as *Boristhenes*; and from thence right forth, so far as the River *Thanais*, that parteth *Europe* and *Asia*. It is certain, that the *Scythians* of whom the *Persians* be descended, came not from *Bospheron*, but out of *Europe*. There was a Noble City, in those days called *Hecatonphilos*, builded by the *Greeks*, where *Alexander* remained with his Army, conveying Victuals thither from all parts. Among the Soldiers lying in idleness, there arose suddenly a rumour, which entred into their heads without any certain Author or beginning, which was, that *Alexander* satisfied with the Acts he had done, purposed immediately to return into *Macedon*. This Fame was not so soon blown abroad, but that they ran like mad-men to their lodgings, and trussed up their Baggage and their Stuff, making such preparation to depart, that every man judged warning to be given to remove, and that

the

the thing had been done by appointment. The tumult that did rise in the Camp by lading of Carriage , and by the calling which one made to another , came unto the Kings ears. This rumour obtained the sooner credit , by the dispatch of certain Greek Souldiers , whom *Alexander* had dismissed into their Country , with the gift of six thousand Deniers to every Horseman : Thereupon occasion was given to think that the War had been at an end. *Alexander* , whose purpose was to pass into *India* , and the uttermost bounds of the Orient , was no less displeased at this rumour then the case required : And therefore calling before him the Captains of his Army , with the tears in his eyes , he made a great complaint unto them , that in the middle course of his glory he should thus be pulled back , and compelled to return into his Country , rather as a man vanquished , then as a Victor : Which misfortune , he said , he could not impute to his Souldiers , nor judge that their cowardliness did give an impediment to his proceedings , but that it was only the enyy of the gods that put so sudden a desire of their Country into the mindes of valiant men , who within a while should have returned with greater glory and fame. Thereupon they all promised to travel in Reformation of the matter , offering themselves in all things (were they never so difficult) to do as he would have them : And they promised also the obedience of the Souldiers , if so be that he would make some gentle and apt Oration to pacifie them , who were never yet seen to depart from him in any desperation or disturbance of minde , if they once beheld the chearfulness

of his Countenance, and the courage proceeding from his heat. He promised so to do, and required in the multitude an inclination to give ear unto him. When all things were prepared which were thought expedient for this purpose, he assembled all his Army together, and made this Oration unto them:

When ye consider (my Soldiers) the greatness of the Acts which ye have done, and the manifold Conquests that ye have made, it is no marvel at all that ye be inclined to quietness, and fully satisfied with Fame and Glory: For not to speak of the Illyrians and Tribals, of Boetia, Thracia, and Sparta, of the Achaians and Peloponnesians, whom I have subdued, part in person, and the rest by appointment; I will not make rehearsal of the War we began at Hellespont, and how we delivered from servitude the Barbarous Nations, the Ionians and Æolides, and got into our possession Caria, Lydia, Cappadocia, Phrygia, Paphlagonia, Pamphilia, Pysidia, Celicia, Syria, Phenicia, Armenia, Persia, Media, and Partheniae. We have gotten more Countries, then others have taken Cities; and yet (I am sure) the number of them have caused me to leave some of them unrehearsed. If I could think that the possession of these Lands that we have conquered in so short time could remain sure unto us, then (my Soldiers) I would, though it were against your wills, break from you to visit my house and my home, to see my Mother, my Sisters, and my Country-men, to enjoy there the Land and Glory that I have gotten with you; where the joyful Conversation of our Wives, our Children and Parents, our peace and quietness, and a sure possession of things gotten through our

our valour, do tarry for us, as large rewards of our Victory. But if we will confess the truth, this new Empire which we have not yet at Commandment, but is kept; as it were, by way of intreaty, doth require a time that this stiff-necked people may learn to bear our yokes, and by framing their dispositions to more Humanity, bring their cruel nature to a more civil conversation. Do we not see that the Corn in the field asketh a time for its ripening; and though the same be without sense, yet hath it its course to be brought to perfection? Do you believe that so many Nations not agreeing with us in Religion, in Custom, nor in one use of Language, accustomed to the Empire and Name of another man, will be conquered and brought to subjection with the winning of one Battel? No, trust me, they are kept under with fear of our Power, and do not obey us of their own good wills: And they which shew you obedience when ye be here amongst them, when you be absent will be your Enemies: You must think that you have to do with wilde Beasts, which being fierce of Nature when they be first taken, must be slayn and tamed by time. Hitherto I have reasoned with you, as though we had conquered the whole Dominion that pertained to Darius, which is nothing so; for Nabazanes possesseth Hircania, and the Traitor Bessus not only enjoyeth Bactria, but also threateneth us. The Sogdians, Dahans, Massagetes, Sagans, and the Indians, remain yet in their own Liberty and Jurisdiction, who shall not see our backs so sovnturned, but they will follow in our Rear: They all have a certain Friendship and Amity one with another, but we are all Strangers and Forreigners unto them: There is no creature but that will more gladly be obedient to Rulers,

ters of his own Nation, then to Foreigners, be their Government never so terrible. We are driven therefore of necessity to purchase that we have not, or else to loose that we have already gained : As Physicians, that in sick bodies will leave no humour that may hurt, so likewise we must cut away whatsoever shall be an impediment unto our Empire : Have you not seen great fires to arise from small sparks not regarded ? We may not neglect any thing in our Enemies, whom the more we despise, the more strong we make them. And because you should not think it such an impossibility for Bessus to make himself King, where a King is wanting, you shall understand that Darius came not to his Empire by Inheritance, but got into the Seat of Cyrus by the benefit of Bagoas his Eunuch. We commit an heinous offence (my Soldiers) if we make war against Darius, and put him down, for the intent to give his Kingdom unto his servants ; yea, and to such a one as attempted so vile an act against his Master, at such a time as he had most need of help, and whom we being his Enemies, would have spared : He being his subject, put him in chains as a Captive, and finally slew him, because he should not be preserved by us : Shall you suffer such a man as this to reign ? No, let us make all the speed we may to see him crucified, and to shew unto all Kings and Nations a Justice done upon one that so vilely falsified his faith. If the report should come unto you in your own Countries, that the same man was destroying of the Greek Cities about Hellespont, how sorry would you then be, and how much would you lament that Bessus should enjoy that which you have got, and usurp the rewards of your Victory ? Then would you make haste to recover your own ; then would

would you bend your selves to the Wars : But how much better is it now to oppress him while he remaineth in such fear, and is uncertain what way to take ? Shall we forbear to spend four days to come to him, that have marched over such Snows, that have passed so many Rivers, that have climbed so many Mountains, to whose journey the flowing Sea could be no impediment, nor the Streights of Cilicia could shut up our way ? Now all things are made plain and open, and we stand in the entry of our Victory : There are but a few Fugitives and Killers of their Master that do remain. What more notable work can you leave unto your posterity, to be registered by Fame unto your glory, then to revenge such as were Traytors to Darius ? You shall thereby shew, that when you were Enemies unto him, yet your hatred ended with his death , and that no wicked man can escape your hands : Which thing if you bring to pass, how much more obedient do you think the Persians will be unto you, when they perceive you to take just Wars in hand ; and that it was not with Bessus name whereat ye are offended, but with his sins and treacheries ?

His Oration was received of the Souldiers with such gladness , that they straightways desire him to lead them whither he would : And he that knew well enough how to make use of this opportunity, immediately advanced into Parthenia , and came to the bounds of Hircania , leaving Craterus with those Regiments whereof he had the Rule , and six thousand Horsemen , of whom Amintas had the charge, with the like number of Archers , to defend Parthenia from the incursion of the barbarous Nations. He appointed Erigonius, with a small power, to attend

attend upon his Carriages; willing him to pass with them through the plain Country, and he himself with his Footmen, and with the rest of his Horsemen, marched forwards a hundred and fifty furlongs, and incamped in a Valley at the entry into *Hercania*. In the same place are great woods full of high and thick Trees, and the bottom of the Valley is very fruitful, by reason of the Springs that come forth of the Rocks. Out of the foot of the Mountains there ariseth a River called *Zieberis*, which within three furlongs of the head, is divided by a Rock standing in the midst of the Stream, causing the water to go two sundry ways; which afterwards coming into one Channel, runneth more violently then before, by reason of the fall from the Rocks: And suddenly it sinketh into the ground, and so runneth hidden, by the space of three hundred furlongs; and then cometh forth again, as it were, out of a new Spring, being then in breadth thirteen furlongs; and as it runneth forwards, groweth more narrow, and falleth into another stream, named *Rhydago*. The Inhabitants of the Country affirm, that any thing cast in where the Stream sinks into the ground, will appear and come out at the next Mouth of the River. For the proving of which conclusion, Alexander caused two Bulls to be cast in, where the water sank down, whose bodies were found by such as were appointed for the purpose, to appear where the Stream brake out again. In this place he refreshed his Army four days, during which time *Nabarzanes* (who was Confederate with *Bessus* in killing of the King) did write Letters to him to this effect:

How that he was no Enemy to Darius, but compelled him ever to do such things as he judged most profitable; and for his faithful counsel, was put in danger of his life by him, who against all reason intended to commit the custody of his person to Strangers, condemning thereby the fidelity of his own Nation, which they had kept unspotted towards their Kings the space of two hundred and thirty years: Therefore seeing himself in that danger, he took counsel of the present necessity, and alledged, that nothing was more dear to miserable Mortality than life, for the love whereof he was driven to this extremity, in committing an act which necessity rather compelled him to do, then his own disposition: For in a general Calamity, every man seeks after his own Fortune. If he would command him to come to his presence, he said, he would not refuse to do it; for he could not fear that so great a King would violate his promise, seeing one god is not used to deceive another. But if he should seem unworthy of his assurance, there were many Countries for him to fly unto; for all men having virtue in them, count always that for their Country where they make their residence.

Alexander made no stay to give him his word, after such sort as the Persians used to receive promise, which was, safely to come and go: Notwithstanding he marched in order of Battel, sending ever Scouts before to discover the Country: The light armed were appointed to the Vaward, the Phalax followed after, and the Baggage behind: For by reason they were a warlike Nation, and the Country hard to enter upon, it caused the King to be circumspect. The same Valley stretcheth

eth to the *Caspian Sea*, the Banks thereof resembling the Horns of the Moon, before it cometh to the full, the Sea lying betwixt them like a great Bay. Upon the left hand the people inhabit, that are called *Cercetes*, which lye open towards the *North*; and upon the other part the *Leucosirians*, *Mossynes*, and *Chalibes*; and the Plains of the *Amazons* lye towards the *West*.

The Sea, which some call the *Caspian Sea*, and some the *Hircanian*, being more sweet then any other, bringeth forth Serpents of a wonderful bigness, and Fishes differing in colour much from all the rest. There be divers of opinion, that the Lake of *Meotis* should run into this Sea, which they conjecture by the water, thinking the same to receive its sweetness of the Lake. Towards the *North* the Sea groweth into a Beach, and shooteth forth his waters far upon the Land, which rising high, make many Mears and Plashes. And as by a constant course of the Planets they flow out, so at a certain time, by an Ebb, they return again, restoring the ground to its former estate: Some believe these waters to be no parcel of the *Caspian Sea*, but that they come out of *India*, and run into *Hircania*, which lieth low in the foresaid Valley.

The King being removed from that place, march'd forwards twenty furlongs in a wilde Desart, where great woods hung continually over their heads, and Brooks of water, and the dirt, gave great impediment to their journey. But at length, without any opposition of his Enemies, he passed those difficulties, and came unto a fair Country; wherein, besides other Victuals (wherewith it did abound)

bound) there grew great plenty of Apples, and the ground was very apt for Vines. There were also plenty of a certain kinde of Trees much like unto Oaks, whose leaves were covered with honey, which the Inhabitants gather before the Sun-rising; for else the moisture would be dried up with the heat.

When *Alexander* had passed thirty furlongs further, *Phrataphernes* met him, yeilding both himself and such others as fled away after *Darius* death; whom he received gently, and came to a Town called *Arnas*: Thither came *Craterus* and *Erigonus*, bringing with them *Phradates*, that had the rule of the *Tapurians*; his friendly receiving and gentle entertainment, was cause that many followed his example, in committing themselves to *Alexander's* Mercy. *Menape* was there made Prince of *Hircania*, who being a banished man in the time of *Occhus*, came to King *Philip* for Refuge: and *Phradates* also was restored to the Office he had before.

When *Alexander* was come to the uttermost bounds of *Hircania*, *Artabasus*, whom as we declared, did shew himself always faithful to his Master, did meet him with *Darius* Kinsmen and Children, and with a small Band of Greek Souldiers. The King at his coming proffered him his hand, because he had been entertained before by King *Philip*, when he was banished by *Occhus*. But the chief cause that he received him so well, was for the fidelity that he observed towards his Prince. He being thus gently entertained by *Alexander*, did say unto him; *Sir, long may you flourish and reign*

reign in perpetual felicity : I that rejoice in all other things , am grieved only at this , that by reason of mine old age , I shall not be able long to enjoy your goodness . He was eighty five years of age , and brought with him nine Sons born of one Mother , whom he presented to the King ; praying God to continue their lives , so long as their service might be acceptable unto him .

Alexander was accustomed much to walk on foot ; but then left the old man might be ashamed to ride , himself going on foot , he called for Horses for them both . When he was incamped , he sent for the Greeks that *Artabasus* brought ; but they made request , that he would first give assurance to the *Lacedemonians* that were amongst them , or else they would take advice amongst themselves what were best to do : The same were the Embassadours that the *Lacedemonians* had sent to *Darius* , which after the Battel , joyned themselves to the Greeks that were in pay with *Darius* . The King willed them to leave all assurances and compositions , and come to receive such appointment as he would give them : They stood long in a doubt , va ying in opinions ; but at length they agreed so to do , saving *Democrats* of *Athens* , who had always opposed the success of the *Macedons* , and despairing of pardon flew himself : But the other , as they had determined , submitted themselves to *Alexanders* will , being ten thousand five hundred in number , besides ninety of such as were sent Embassadours unto *Darius* . The greatest part of the Soldiers were distributed amongst the Bands , to fill up the numbers that wanted ; and the rest were sent

fent home, except the *Lacedemonians*, whom he commanded to be put in prison.

There was a Nation called *Mardons*, bounding next to *Hircania*, rude in their manners and usages, accustomed to live by theft: They neither sent Embassadours, nor gave any signification that they would be at *Alexanders* Commandment: He took thereat great indignation, that any one people should give impediment to his Victory; and therefore leaving a Guard for his Carriages, he advanced against them with a strong power. He marched forwards in the night; and by the time that the day appeared, his Enemies were in sight. But the matter came rather to an Alarm, then to any fight; for the Enemies were soon driven from the Hills, who flying away, left their Villages to be sacked by the *Macedons*: But the Army could not pass into the inward parts of the Country without great trouble and vexation, the same being compassed about with high Mountains, great Woods, and desart Rocks; and the parts which were plain, were defended with a strange kinde of fortification, that is to say, with Trees set thick of purpose; the Boughs whereof, when they were young, were wreathed one within another, the tops bowed down were put into the ground again, from whence, as out of another root, there sprung new branches. They would not suffer the same to grow as Nature brought them forth, but did knit them so one within another, that when they were full of leaves they covered the earth. The Trees thus wreathed one within another, inclosed in the Country, as it were, with a continual hedge, and were as snares to in-

tangle such as would enter. There was no way could be devised to go through the same, but only by cutting down the wood; and therein they found a great difficulty, and much travel, by reason that the wreathing and wrapping of the Boughs kept them off from the bodies of the Trees; and the weakness of the Boughs so yeilded to the strokes, that they could not easily be cut asunder.

The Inhabitants of the Country were accustomed to creep amongst the under-wood like wilde Beasts, and by privy Sallies break out upon their Enemies. *Alexander* therefore caused his men, after the manner of Hunters, to seek out their lurking places, and kill'd many of them. But at length he invironed the Wood with his Souldiers round about, to the intent they might break in at every place, where they should finde an entry: In doing whereof, many wandred and lost their company in places that they knew not, and were taken prisoners, and amongst them *Bucephalus*, *Alexanders* Horse, whom he did not esteem as other men do other Beasts; for this Horse would not suffer any other man to back him: and when the King would ride, he would kneel down upon his knees to receive him; so that he seemed to have the sense to understand whoni he carried. *Alexander* was more sorrowful and incensed fo. the loss of his Horse, then was expedient for such a cause: for searching about to get the Horse again, he caused Proclamation to be made by an Interpreter, that except he were restored, he would not leave one of the Country-men alive. When they heard this terrible threatening, amongst other gifts, they presented unto

unto *Alexander* his Horse: Yet he was not therewith pacified, but commanded the Woods to be cut down, and the ways to be levelled which he cut through the Woods. This work went so well forward, that the Inhabitants despairing of ability to defend their Country, yeilded themselves to the King, who receiving their Pledges, committed them to the keeping of *Phraates*; and from thence, the fifth day, he returned again to his Camp. There he gave to *Artabasus* the double honour that *Darius* did unto him, and sent him home again into his Country.

After that he came to the City of *Hircania*, where *Darius* Chief Seat was; *Nabarzanes*: upon assurance, came thither, bringing with him great gifts; and amongst the rest, presented unto *Alexander* an Eunuch called *Bagoas*, of singular Beauty, being in the first flower of his Youth, whom *Darius* used, and afterwards *Alexander*; at whose intercession especially he did pardon *Nabarzanes*. The Nation of the *Amazons* being near unto *Hircania* (as hath been said before) did inhabit the Plains of *Themyscire*, about the River of *Thermoodon*, and had a Queen reigning over them, called *Thalestris*, which kept under her Dominion all the Countries between Mount *Caucasus*, and the River of *Phasis*: She for the great affection she had to see *Alexander*, travelled out of her own Country; and being come near where he was, sent certain before, to declare that a Queen was come of desire to visit him, and to enjoy the private familiarity of his company. When liberty was given her to come to his presence, she caused all the rest of her Band to

stay, and she came forwards, attended only by thrice hundred women. As soon as she perceived *Alexander*, she leaped from her Horse, carrying two Javelins in her hand. The *Amazons* apparel is such, that it doth not cover all their bodies; for their breasts are bare on the left side, and their garments, which they use to knit up with a knot, come not to their knees: One Breast they always reserve untouched, wherewith they nourish their Women-Children; but their right Breasts they use to bear, to make them more apt to draw their Bows, and cast their Darts. *Thalestris* looked upon *Alexander* with a bold countenance; and observed in her beholding of him, that his personage answered not to the fame that she had heard of his Acts; for the Barbarous Nations gave great Veneration to the Majesty of the Personage, thinking none to be sufficient for the doing of great Acts, but such as Nature had indued with great personages: It was demanded of her, if she had any request to make unto *Alexander*: Whereat she abashed not to confess, that she was come thither to have Children by him, thinking her self a personage worthy of whom he should get Heirs to inherit his Kingdom: wherein she covenanted, that if it were a Woman, she would keep it still; and if it were a Man-Childe, she would restore it to the Father. *Alexander* enquired of her, if she would go forwards with him in his Wars: But therein she excused her self, that she had left no order for the defence of her Kingdom. But she continued still in declaration of the cause of her coming, and required that her expectation therein might not be in vain. The

Womans

Womans Appetite seemed to be more vehemently given to Lust then the Kings was ; yet she obtained of him to stay for that cause, and he consumed thirteen days in satisfying her desire.

That done , she departed to her own Kingdom, and *Alexander* marched into *Parthenia* , which was the place where he first shewed manifestly the Vices that were in him. There he turned his Contineney and Moderation , being the most excellent Vertues appearing in any kinde of Estate , into Pride and Voluptuousness ; not esteeming his Country-Customs , nor the wholesome temper that was in the Discipline of the Kings of *Macedon* : For he judged their civil usage and manner to be over-base for his greatness ; but did counterfeit the height and pomp of the Kings of *Perisia* , representing the greatness of the gods. He was content to suffer men there to fall down flat upon the ground, and worship him ; and accustomed the Conquerours of so many Nations, by little and little, to servile offices , coveting to make them like unto his Captives. He ware upon his Head a Diadem of Purple , interpaled with white, like as *Darius* was accustomed ; and fash'oned his Apparel after the manner of the *Perians*, without scrupulosity of any token that it signifi'd, for the Conquerour to change his Habit into the fashion of him whom he had vanquished : And though he boasted that he wore the spoils of his Enemies , yet with those spoils he put upon him their evil manners , and the insolency of the mirdie followed the pride of the Apparel. Besides , although he sealed such Letters as he sent into *Euroope* with his accustomed Seal ; yet all the Letters he sent

abroad into *Asia* were sealed with *Darius* Ring: So it appeared, that one minde could not bear the greatness that appertained to two. He apparelled also his Friends, his Captains, and his Horsemen in *Persian* apparel; whereat though they grudged in their mindes, yet they durst not refuse it for fear of his displeasure. His Court was replenished with Concubines; for he still maintained three hundred and sixty that belonged to *Darius*; and amongst them were Flocks of Eunuchs, accustomed to perform the natural use of Women.

The old Souldiers of *Philip* naturally abhorring such things, manifestly withstood to be infected with such voluptuousness and strange Customes: Whereupon there rose a general talk and opinion throughout the Camp, that they had lost more by the Victory, then they had won by the War: For when they saw themselves overcome with such excess, and Forreign Customs so to prevail amongst them, they judged it a slender reward of their long being abroad, to return home in the habit of Prisoners. They began to be ashamed of their King, that was more like to such as were subdued, then to them that were Victorious; and that the King of *Macedon* was become the Prince of *Persia*, and one of *Darius* Courtiers. When he understood that the chief of his friends, and his men of War were much offended at his doings, he went about to recover favour again with gifts and liberality; but the rewards of servitude are ungrateful to free men: And therefore lest it might turn into a sedition, he thought good to break the imaginations increased by idlenes, with the exercise of War, whereof

whereof an apt occasion was given : *Bessus* investing himself as a King, took upon him the name of *Artaxerxes*, drawing to his part the *Scythians*, and others that were the Inhabitants of the River *Ibanais*; which things were reported to him by *Nabarzanes*, whom he had received into his favour, and given the Rule of the Country he had before. When he had determined this new Expedition, he found his Army so over-charged and laden with Spoil, and other Furniments of Voluptuousness, that they could scarcely move : Wherefore he commanded the Baggage and Stuff of the whole Army to be brought together into one place, excepting only such things as were very necessary : The place was large and plain to which the Carts were brought laden ; and when every one stood waiting and musing what he would command them to do, he caused the Beasts to be removed first out of the way, and then set his own Fardels on fire, and after, all the rest. Whilst these things were burning, the Owners were on fire themselves to see them so consumed ; for the saving of which, they had often quenched the flames in the Cities of their Enemies : Yet no man durst lament the price of his own blood, seeing they saw the fire consume the Kings Riches as well as their own ; and the rather to pacifie them, the King did mitigate their dolour with a brief Oration. Whereupon they that were ever apt for the Wars, and ready to do all things, began to be joyful, that with the loss of their Baggage, they had preserved their Discipline accustomed in the Wars. As they were setting forward towards *Bacuria*, *Nicanor*, the Son of *Parmenio*, died

died suddenly, whom every man greatly lamented, but chiefly the King, who desired to have stayed to celebrate his Funeral, but that want of Victuals caused him to hatte forward: *Philotas* therefore was left behinde with two thousand six hundred Souldiers, to perform the Ceremonies appertaining to his Brothers Funeral, and *Alexander* himself marched towards *Bessus*. In the way, Letters were brought to *Alexander* from the Princes thereabout, that *Bessus* was coming towards him with a great Army; adding thereunto, that *Satribarzanes*, whom he had made Prince of the *Arrians*, was newly rebelled; for that cause (notwithstanding he was come near unto *Bessus*) he thought it best first to oppress *Satribarzanes*: and for that intent, he brought forwards his Horsemen and Footmen that were light armed, to invade him suddenly. His coming was not so privy, but *Satribarzanes* knew thereof, and fled into *Baciria* with two thousand Horsemen: for by reason he was not able to assemble any more in so short a time, the rest took the next Mountains for their refuge.

There was a Rock, which towards the *West*, was high and steep, but towards the *East* more low, and easie to be climbed, which part was full of Trees: The same Rock being in compass two and thirty furlongs, had a Fountain running continually, and in the top a Green Plain, where they placed the weaker multitude; but the rest that were apt for defence, being to the number of thirteen thousand, got themselves to the edges of the Rock, and there threw down stones and logs upon the *Macedons* that came to assail them. He left *Craterus* to besiege

siege the Rock , and went in person to pursue *Satibarzanes* ; and because he understood that he was fled far off , he returned back again to the siege of them that were upon the Rock . First, he caused all things to be taken away , that might be an impediment to his men in the assault giving : But when they came to the bare and steep Rock , the labour seemed lost, where Nature wrought against them. But he, that was of a disposition always to strive against difficulties , considering how hard a matter it was to go forward , and how dangerous to return back , did cast in his head all the ways that could be imagined , and now fancied one thing , and then another , as men are wot when the ways they have found out first do not please them. As he stood in a doubt what to do , Fortune did minister unto him a means , which neither wit nor reason could invent : It chanced that the winde blew vehemently at the *South West* , at what time the Souldiers had telled great plenty of wood , whereof they thought to have made Scaffolds to mount up against the Rock , and the heat of the Sun had made the same dry. When *Alexander* perceived the winde to blow so violently , and the wood lying in that place , he immediately commanded more Trees to be cut down , and laid upon them , putting all other things to it that were apt to kindle and nourish fire ; so that Trees heaped up on Trees , became as a Mountain so high as the top of the Rock : The same being set on fire in all parts at once , the winde carried the flame into the faces of their Enemies , and the smoak covered the Sky . The noise was then great that the fire made , which

which burned not only the Trees that were fired of purpose, but also the rest of the Wood growing near thereabout.

The Enemies were so tormented with the flame and heat of the fire, that they were inforced to forsake their place of strength, and attempted to escape away where the fire did give them least impediment: But where the fire gave place, the *Macedons* stood in a readiness to receive them; so that they were consumed and slain divers kinde of ways: Some threw themselves down the Rocks, some ran into the midst of the fire, others fell into the hands of their Enemies, and a few half consumed with fire, were taken prisoners. When *Alexander* had done this, he returned to *Craterus*, who besieged *Artacnan*; and having prepared all things in readiness, tarried only for the Kings coming, to give him the honour of winning the City.

When *Alexander* was come, he approached the Walls with the Towers of Timber that he had prepared for the assault; at the sight whereof the Inhabitants were so afraid, that they held up their hands from the Walls, requiring him to spare them, and execute his wrath upon *Satribarzanes*, who was the Author of their Rebellion. *Alexander* pardoned them freely; and not only raised the Siege, but also restored to the Inhabitants all things that pertained to them. As he removed from this City, there came to him a new supply of Souldiers: *Zoilus* brought out of *Greece* five hundred Horsemen, and three thousand *Amipater* sent out of *Illyria*: There came a hundred and thirty *Thessalian* Horsemen with *Philip*, who also brought Foreigners

ers out of *Licia*, two thousand five hundred Footmen, and three hundred Horsemen. *Alexander* having thus increased his power, entred into the Country of the *Dragans*, who were a warlike Nation, under the Government of *Nabarzanes*, who was of Counsel with *Bessus* in the Treason that he committed against his Prince. When he heard of *Alexanders* coming, for fear of the punishment he had deserved, he fled into *India*. Here had they lain incamped nine days, when *Alexander* being without fear of any Enemy, and invincible against all Foreign Powers, was brought in peril by reason of his own people: It chanced that one *Dimnus*, a man of mean behaviour and Authority with his Prince, was greatly inflamed with the love of a young man, called *Nichomachus*, with whom he used much familiar conversation. This *Dimnus* on a time being in a passion (as it well appeared by his countenance) allured this young man into a Temple, where remaining together, he declared, that he had certain Secrets to shew him, which in no wise were to be reported again: Thereby he brought *Nichomachus* into a great suspension what the matter should be; for before he would tell him, he made a Protestation by the love and familiarity betwixt them, that he would assure him by his Oath to keep the thing secret; who supposing the matter to be of no such weight, that he ought with Perjury, or breaking of his Oath, to disclose the same again, did swear by the gods there present. Then *Dimnus* opened unto him, how there was a Treason conspired against the King, which within three days should be put in executi-

on, to which (he said) he himself was private, with divers men of Nobility and Estimation. When *Nichomachus* did hear it, and found it to be of such moment, he constantly denied then that this promise extended to conceal Treason, whereunto no Oath nor Religion could binde a man; which when *Dimmus* observed, he became on a rage betwixt love and fear, and clasped the young man by the hand, requiring with weeping eyes, that he would not stick to be a partaker of this Conspiracy; or at the least, if his heart would not serve him, that he would keep the counsel secret, in respect that he had found such a manifestation of love in him, as to commit his life into his hands, without any further proof of his fidelity. But in conclusion, when he perceived that *Nichomachus* would in no wise agree to his purpose, but manifestly abhorred the act, he used divers means to draw him to his intent; one while intreating him with fair words, and another while threatening to kill him, calling him Coward, and Traytor to his Friend, commanding the Gallantness of the Enterprise, and put him in hope of great preferment, that he should be partaker of the Kingdom which they went about to purchase. When he had proved all these ways, and yet he found him averse, one while he thrust his Sword to *Nichomachus* throat, and another while to his own; so that at length, by threatening, and fair speaking, he brought him to promise, both to keep his counsel secret, and also to be assistant to the deed. Yet nevertheless, as one of a constant minde (though for the time present he seemed to be won with the love of his Friend, and agreeable to his

his requests) he changed no part of his former purpose. This done, *Nichomachus* required to know what the men were that had confederated themselves in so weighty a matter, because the persons (he said) were much material that should take so great an Enterprize in hand.

Then *Dimnus*, though he were in great trouble of minde that he had brought the matter so far forth; yet when he heard him ask the question, rejoiced, and thanked him greatly, that he would so freely associate himself with such manner of men, as *Demetrius* of the Privy Chamber, *Peculatus*, *Nicanor*, *Apbabetus*, *Locens*, *Diocenus*, *Archipolis*, and *Aminuas*. This communication once ended betwixt them, *Nichomachus* departed, and disclosed all which he had heard before, to a Brother of his, called *Ceballinus*, agreeing betwixt them two, that *Nichomachus* should remain still secret in his Tent, lest by his coming to the Kings Lodging, not using to have access to the King, the Conspirators mighte perceive themselves betrayed. *Ceballinus* repaired to the Kings lodging, tarrying before the gate, waiting for some man near about the King to bring him to his Presence. It fortuned, that among many which passed by, only *Philotas*, the Son of *Parmenio*, demanded why he waited there? To whom *Ceballinus*, with a bashful countenance, (well declaring the unquietness of his minde) reported all which he had heard of his Brother, requiring that he would declare the same immediately to the King. *Philotas* departed from him unto the King, with whom that day he had much communication on other things, and yet opened no part of that which was

was told him by *Ceballinus*. At night, as *Philotas* came forth, *Ceballinus* met him at the Court-gate, and required whether he had done his Message to the King or not: He excused the matter, that he could not finde him at leisure. The next day *Ceballinus* met him again going to the King, and put him in remembrance of that he had told him before; to whom he answered, *that he remembred it well, yet for all that he disclosed no part of it unto the King*. *Ceballinus* then began to suspect him, and intended no longer to defer the thing, but opened the same to *Metron*, Master of the Kings Armory, who immedately conveyed *Ceballinus* into the Armory, and repaired streight to the King, who was bathing, and informed him of all that he had heard.

Alexander then made no delay; but sent certain of his Guard to take *Dimnus*, and after came himself into the Armory. As soon as *Ceballinus* saw the King, he ran unto him with great rejoicing, and said; *Lo, I have preserved thee from the bands of thine Enemies*. *Alexander* examined him of all the circumstances, and he again answered to every point in order. The King was earnest to know how long it was since *Nichomachus* had given him this information; and he confessed, that it was three days. Whereupon the King considering, that in truth he could not have concealed it so long, commanded that he should be put in Ward. Then cryed he out, and declared, that at the same instant when he knew of the Conspiracy first, he opened it to *Philotas*, of whom (he said) he might enquire the truth. Thereupon it was demanded of him, whether

whether he had required of *Philotas* to bring him to the Kings Presence, or not. Which thing when the King by his confession perceived to be true, and that he did stily maintain what he said, he lifted up his hands to heaven , the tears falling from his eyes , greatly complaining, that *Philotas* should re- quite him with such unfaithfulness , whom he most of all trusted. *Dimnus*, in the mean season, know- ing for what cause he was sent for , wounded him- self to death : but yet somewhat hindred by them that were sent to take him ; he was brought alive before the King , whom as soon as he beheld , he said unto him , *Dimnus*, *What have I offended thee,*
that thou shouldest think Philotas more worthy to be King of Macedon than I ? At which words *Dimnus* became speechless ; and casting forth a great sigh, turned his face from the Kings sight, and fell down dead.

The King called *Philotas* before him , and said : *This man , whom thou here seest , shouldest have suffered death , if it could have been proved that he had concealed two days the Treason intended against me , with which he bath charged thee , Philotas , to whom (as he saith) he gave knowledge imme- diately thereof : The more near thou art about me , so much more greater is thy offence ; and the fault had been more tollerable in him , then in thee : Howbeit , thou hast a favourable Judge ; for if there be any thing that cannot be excused , yet at the least it may be pardoned.*

To this *Philotas* nothing abashed (if the heart may be judged by the countenance) made answer, *That Ceballinus indeed brought him a vain Report,*

the Reporter whereof was over-light of credit to be believed ; and that he feared , lest by the presenting of such a matter which did rise upon a Brabble betwixt two persons of evil disposition , he might himself have been laught at to scorn ; But afterwards , when he once knew that Dithonus had slain himself , he was clearly then resolved no longer to have concealed the thing . And so falling down before the King , besought him that he would rather have respect to his life past , then to his fault , which was only a concealment , and no act done . It is hard to say , whether the King believed him , or grounded his displeasure more deeply in his heart : Nevertheless , in token of pardon , he gave him his hand , saying , *how it appeared that the Accusation was rather miscredited by him , then concealed of malice .* Notwithstanding he called his Councel together , amongst whom Philotas was not admitted , but Nichomachus was brought in before them , where he declared all such matters as he before had shewed unto the King . There was one Craterus , at that time in especial favour with Alexander , who for the envy he had to Philotas advancement , did bear him always a grudge : He knew very well that the King had often been displeased with Philotas for the over-much advancing of his good service , and valiant Acts : But yet for all that he was not suspected of Treason , but only noted of presumption and arrogancy . Craterus thought that he could not have a better occasion to oppress his Enemy , then by colouring his private hatred with a pretence of duty towards his Prince .

I would to Gad (quoth he) you had taken our coun
sel

set in the beginning of this business ; for if you would needs have pardoned him , you should have kept from him his knowledge how much he was in danger , rather then have brought him in fear of his life ; whereby you shall make him more mindful of his own peril , then of your goodness ; for he may always imagine your death , but you shall not be always in a condition to pardon him . Let it never sink into your heart , that he who purposed so heinous a Treason , wou'd change his purpose for the indulgence of a Pardon . You know well , that such as offend are often in despair of mercy ; and though he perchance , either with repentance of his fault , or remembrance of your goodness , would change his minde ; yet I am sure , that his Father Patmenio , Captain-General of so great an Army , and of so grounded Authority amongst your Soldiers (and who is with them in manner as your self) would be ill content to be in your debt for his Sons life . There are certain benefits hateful to men ; and it is a shame to confess to have deserved death : Therefore I conclude , that he had rather it should be thought you had done him wrong , then that you had given him his life . I cannot see therefore , but you shall be inforced to destroy them for your own surety : There are Enemies enough remaining , yet unconquered , against whom we are going ; make your self sure from your Foes at home , so shall ye have less need to fear your Enemies abroad .

These were Craterus words ; and the residue of the Council were of opinion , that Philotas would never have concealed this Conspiracy , except he had been either Principal , or privy thereunto : For they thought there was no true man , of honest

heart, though he had been none of the Kings Familiars, hearing so much as *Philotas* heard; but would forthwith have opened the Conspiracy. But he being the Son of *Parmenio*, Master of the Kings Horse, and of his Privy Council, did not so much as a Stranger, who straightway made relation of what his Brother had told him. And whereas he pretended, that the King was not at leisure; they judged it to be done, to the intent the Accuser should not seek any other to whom he might divulge it; whereas *Nichomachus*, albeit he was bound by his Oath to the contrary, yet would he never rest till he had discharged his Conscience: But *Philotas*, when he consumed, in a manner, the whole day in sport and pastime with the King, could not finde in his heart to cast forth a few words, especially in a matter so much concerning the Kings safeguard. But admit (quoth they) he had given no credit to the matter through the lightness of the Reporter, why should he have deferred the Accuser two days, as though he had believed it? For if he had misliked the report, he might have dismissed the party. It was also alledged, that every mans minde much misgiveth him, when the matter concerneth his own jeopardy; much more ought men to be credulous, when it toucheth the safety of a Kings person, in which case it ought to be thoroughly examined, though it be of small moment: They all therefore determined, that *Philotas* should be enforced to disclose the Partners of this Conspiracy. The King commanding them to keep the matter secret, departed; and to the intent no inkling should appear of this new Council, he caused it to be

be proclaimed, that the Army should be set forward the next day. The same night the King called *Philotas* to a Banquet, with whom he vouchsafed not only to eat, but also familiarly to discourse, notwithstanding he had before in the Council determined his death. After the second Watch of the night, *Ephestion*, *Craterus*, and *Erigonus*, who were of the Kings Council, came privily into the Court without light; and of the Esquires, there came *Perdiccas* and *Leonatus*, by whom Commandment was given, that all such as lay near the Kings lodging should watch in Arms.

By this time Souldiers were appointed to all the Passages, and Horsemen were sent to keep the ways, that no man should pass privily to *Parmenio*, who was then Gouvernour of *Media*, and had under him a great power. Then *Artaras* came into the Court with three hundred armed men, unto whom there were appointed ten of those that had the charge of the Kings Person, every one of them accompanied with ten Esquires, who were forced into divers companies to take the other Conspirators: But *Artaras*, with his three hundred, was sent to *Philotas* lodging, where with fifty of the most resolute, he brake up his Chamber-door that was shut against them; the residue were commanded to beset the house, lest he might escape by some secret way. *Philotas*, whether it were through the surety of his own Conscience, or through weariness of the travel of his minde, was into profound a sleep, that *Artaras* brake in upon him before he waked. But at length, when he was rouzed, and come to himself, perceiving they went about to binde him, he cryed

out, and said ; *Oh Alexander, the malice of mine Enemies hath prevailed above thy Mercy.* Speaking these words, they covered his face, and brought him into the Court. The next day the King gave Commandment, that certain of the Men of War should assemble in Arms, to the number of six thousand : Besides these, there were a Rabble of the Black Guard that filled the Court, who being assembled together, the armed men compassed in *Philotas* with their Band, to the intent he should not be espied of the people, until such time as the King might speak unto them : for by an old Law of the *Macedons*, Kings in their own persons were wont to enquire in matters of Treason ; yet could not the Kings Authority prevail to Condemnation, except it were confirmed by the consent of the Men of War : Therefore the Body of *Dimus* was first brought into the place, the most part knowing not what he had done, or by what chance he was slain. Then came the King forth to speak unto the multitude, who in his countenance declared the dolor of his heart, and the sadness of such as were near about him, caused unto the rest a great expectation of the event. He cast his eyes down to the earth, and in a muse, but at length he plucked up his spirits, and spake unto them in this wise :

By the Treason of some Assassines I was almost taken from you ; but through the Mercy and Providence of the gods, I am yet preserved. Your Honourable Presence doth constrain me more vehemently to be moved against those Traitors, because the only comfort and fruit of my life is, that I remain to give thanks unto so many Nible men, unto whom I am so much obliged.

With

With speaking of these words, the murmur of the multitude did interrupt his speech, and the tears did fall from their eyes; then the King renewed his discourse:

How much more will you be moved, when I shall shew you the Authors of so horrible a Treason, which I yet refrain, as one very loath to discover their names? but I must uncover the memory of my former favorers, and utter the Conspiracy of my unnatural Subjects; for how is it possible for me to hide so great a Treason? Parmenio, a man of that Age, so deeply in my debt, through the most ample benefits both of me and my Father, and whom I most esteemed of all my Friends, is the Captain and Contriver of all this Mischief: His Minister Philotas, hath procured Peucolaus, Demetrius, and this Dianus, (whose Body you here see) with other Partners of their wickedness, to my destruction.

As he spake these words, there arose throughout the multitude a great murmur and complaint, such as useth to be amongst Men of War, when they are moved with affection or displeasure. With that, *Nichomachus, Metron, and Ceballinus* were brought forth, every one of them giving in Evidence of what they had spoken before; yet it appeared not by any mans information, that *Philotas* was privy to the Conspiracy. But at the last, when the noise was ceased, and the Witnesses had said what they could, the King proceeded in this manner:

Of what minde think you was this man, who bearing the whole Report, could finde in his heart to conceal the Treason, the truth whereof is well declared by the death of Dianus? Ceballinus that reported an uncertain tale, for the certain tryal thereof, was afraid of

no torments ; and never delayed any moment of time, until he had discharged himself , in so much that he brake into the place where I was bathing ; but Philotas only feared nothing, believed nothing. O how great a heart had this man , who having knowledge of the danger of his King, did never change countenance , nor take so much pains, as to bear out the information of the Accuser ! But in this silence and concealment there is Treason hidden , and the greedy desire he had to Reign, did drive him head-long to attempt this wickedness . His Father is Governour of Media, and beareth such a Command amongst the Captains and Men of War, through my Authority , that he hopeth after a great deal more then he hath ; and because I am without Children , he esteemeth me not : But Philotas is deceived , I have Children , Friends , and Kinfolke amongst you : So long as you are in safety, I shall not reckon my self without Heirs .

Then did he receive a Letter that was intercepted, which Parmenio had written to his Sons , Nicanor and Philotas ; wherein there appeared no great proof of any great Treason intended. The Letter was this: First take good heed to your selves , and then to those that belong to you ; so shall we bring to pass what we have purposed. Which Letter the King intorced ; saying , It was written after such a manner, that if it came unto his Sons hands it might be understood by them that knew the design ; but if it were taken by the way, it should deceive them that knew it not. Then proceeded he .

Now will Philotas perhaps say , that when Dimus named all that were partakers of his Conspiracy, he named not him. As for that , it is no proof of his Innocency,

Innocency, but a token of his Power and Authority, because he was feared even of them that might betray him, who betraying themselves, durst not speak of him: But what manner of man he hath been, his life doth shew: He was Fellow and Companion to Attidas my Kinsman, who conspired High-Treason against my Person in Macedon: He gave his Sister in Marriage to Attalus, then whom I had never greater Enemy. When by reason of old friendship and familiarity, I wrote unto him of the Title given to me by the Oracle of Jupiter Hammon, he did not stick to answer, that he was very glad that I was admitted into the number of the gods, howbeit very sorry for those that should live under such a one as would exceed the condition of man. These were plain tokens that his heart was turned from me, and that he despised my glory: This I kept close in my heart so long as I might; for I thought my Bowels pulled from me, if I should render them contemptible for whom I had done so much: But now it is not words that must be punished, for the rashness of their Tongues is turned to Swords, which (believe me) Philotas hath whetted to my destruction; whom if I should suffer to escape, alas, my Soldiers, whither should I go? To whom should I commit my person? He was the man that I made General of my Cavalry, of the greatest part of mine Army, and the Chief of the most Noble of the Youth thereof: To his truth and fidelity have I committed my Safeguard, my Hope, and Victory: His Father did I prefer unto the same Estate whereunto you have advanced me: Media; then which there is not a richer Country, with many thousands of your Friends and Companions, I have put under his Governance and

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Autority. Where I trusted of most Surety, there I have found most danger: How much more happy had I been to have died in Battel, and to have been slain by mine Enemies, then to be thus betrayed by my Subjects? For now being saved from the dangers which I most feared, I have fallen into those which I ought to have least doubted. You have been wont oftentimes to warn me, that I should regard my safety; it is you that now may do that for me which you have counselled me unto: To your bands, and to your succour do I fly: I would not live, though I might, against your wills; and though you would, yet can I not, except I be delivered from mine Enemies.

Hereupon Philotas was brought forth in an old garment, his hands bound behinde him: It well appeared how much this miserable sight moved them who late before envied him. The day before they saw him General of the Horse, they knew that he was at Supper with the King, and suddenly they saw him, both a prisoner bound like a Thief, and also condemned to die: It caused pity in their hearts, to consider how Parmenio, so Noble a man, so great a Captain, who late having lost two Sons, Hector and Nicanor, should be put to answer for the third, whom calamity had left alive. The multitude being thus inclined to pity, Amintas, one of the Kings Officers, with a bitter invective, set them all against the Prisoner.

We are all (quoth he) *betrayed to the Barbarous Nations; not one of us shall return home unto his Country, Wife, or Friends, but we shall be a maimed body without a Head, without Honour, without Fame, and in a strange Country shall be made a Mocking-stock to our Enemies.*

His

His words were nothing pleasing to the King, because he put the Souldiers in remembrance of their Wives and Country, whereby he thought they would be the less willing to go forwards in his wars. There was one *Cenus*, who though he had married the Sister of *Philotas*, yet did he more extremely inveigh against him, than any other, calling him *Traitor to his King, his Country, and to the whole Army*: And thereupon took up a stone, that by chance lay at his feet, to have cast at *Philotas*, which he did (as some thought) to the end he might rid him from further torments: But the King kept back his hand, and said, *that the Prisoner should have liberty to speak for himself, and would not suffer him to be condemned otherwise*. Then *Philotas* being admitted to speak, were it through the conscience of his offence, or through the greatness of his peril, as a man astonished, and besides himself, durst neither look up, nor speak, but burst out into tears; whereupon his heart fainted, and he swooned down upon those that led him: But afterwards, when he had wiped his eyes, and by little and little recovered his heart and tongue, he prepared to speak for himself. Then the King beheld him in the face, and said; *The Macedons shall be thy Judges; I would know therefore whether thou wilt speak to them in thy Country Language, or not?* To whom *Philotas* answered, *There are divers Nations here besides the Macedons, who I trust shall perceive my words the better, if I speak in the same tongue that you have done, to the intent that it may be better understood by the generality of the people here present.* Then said the King, *Mark how this man bath his Nativ:*

Native Language in hatred ; for there is none but he that will disdain to speak it : But let him say what he will, do you remember, that he not only disdaineth our Customs, but also our Language. And with that word the King departed from the Assembly : Then said Philotas :

It is easie for an Innocent to finde words to speak ; but it is very hard for a man in misery, to keep a temper in his discourse. Thus standing betwixt a clear Conscience, and most unhappy Fortune, I know not which way I shall satisfie my self, and the time, both together : For he that might best have judged my Cause is gone ; What the cause is he would not hear me, I cannot well imagine ; since upon the matter heard, it lyeth only in his hands, either to discharge me, or condemn me : For the matter not heard, he cannot acquit me being absent, since he condemned me when he was here present. Howsoever, the defence of a Prisoner is not only superfluous, but also hateful, which seemeth not to inform, but to reprove his Judge : Yet will I not forsake my self, nor so demean me, that I may seem condemned by mine own default : I see not of what Treason I should be guilty : Amongst the Conspirators no man named me ; Nichomachus said nothing of me ; Ceballinus could not tell more of me when he heard : And yet doth the King believe, that I should be the Head of this Conspiracy. Was it possible that Dimnus should forget to name him that was the Principal ? Or is it likely that he would have over-slipped me, when the Names of the Conspirators were demanded of him ? He would rather have named me falsely, to allure the young man the sooner to his Opinion : Yet when he told the matter privily

to Nichomachus, whom he verily believed would have kept it secret, naming himself, and all the rest, of me, only he made no mention: It cannot be gathered, that he omitted me, because he would have spared me. I pray you (my Fellows) if no man had come to me, nor given me knowledge of the matter, should I this day have been put to answer, when no man could have accused me? But be it that Dinnus were alive, and would spare me, what think you by the other? Would they detect themselves, and forbear me? Adversity is malicious and spiteful; an Offender, when he is punished himself, useth not to keep silence to spare another man: Commonly he that goeth to Death will spare no man; nor will any spare him that is ready to die: Will not so many guilty persons, as are put to torments, confess the truth?

But now I must answer to the Crime of which I stand accused, if indeed, there can be found any Crime at all? Why did I conceal Treason? Why did I bear it with a small regard? This fault, if it were a fault, thou bast pardoned me (O Alexander!) whatsoever thou art, by giving me thy hand, and bidding me to Supper with thee: If thou didst believe me, I am clear; if thou didst forgive me, I am acquitted: Stand at the least to thy own judgment. Alas, what have I done, since this last night I went from your Table? What new report hath changed your minde? I was in a sound sleep, when my Enemies, by their binding, waked me, who was sleeping in mine own misfortune: Offenders cannot sleep through their unquiet Conscience, and are stung with secret torments, not only when their mischief is intended, but also when it is performed.

But this quietness came unto me first through mine own Innocency, and then by the Kings Pardon: I feared not that others Cruelty should take more place then his Mercy. But that it may not repent them to have believed me, you shall understand, that this Conspiracy was first shewed me by a light Fellow, who could not bring any Witnesses or Warrant of his words; which if I had disclosed, it would have put many men to trouble. O unhappy that I am! I thought mine ears had been seduced with the falling out of two Buggerers; and I suspected the truth of the party, because he did not utter the matter himself, but procured his Brother to do it; I was in fear, that the one should have denied whatever the other affirmed; and withal, should have seemed to procure much trouble to many of the Kings Friends: So that because I would have offended none, I have found some more destrous to procure my death, then to save my life: What hatred, suppose ye, should I have gotten, if I had accused Innocents? But Dimmus slew himself; could I therefore divine before, that he would so do? No surely, this his death being that which only tryed the Accusation true, could not move me to utter it, being prevented by another.

And if I had been a Conspirator with Dimmus of so great a Treason, is it likely that I would have dissembled it, by the space of two days, after it was discovered? As for Ceballinus, it had been an easie matter to have dispatched him out of the way after the thing disclosed; wherefore should I have delayed the matter? I entred into the Kings Chamber alone, bearing my weapons about me; why deferred I my purpose? Durst I not attempt it without Dimmus? But per-

perchance ye will say, Because he was the chief Conspirator: How then standeth it together, that I should be his Underling, who did covet to be King of Macedon? Which of you all have I corrupted with Bribes? What Captain, what Officer have I inclined to more then another? It is laid to my charge, that I abhor the speaking of my Country Language, and that I disdain the manners of the Macedons. What? Do I despise the Kingdom that I covet? Ye know that our Natural Tongue, through our Conversation with other Nations, is gone out of use; as well those that be Conquerours, as they that be subdued, must learn a new Language. But surely these things make no more against me, then did the Treason that Amintas, the Son of Perdicas, intended against the King; with him I had friendship; I will not die, except ye will make it a thing unlawful to love the Kings Brother: But it was our duty to honour a man called to that degree of Fortune; I beseech you, am I guilty because I could not guess before that he would offend? Is the Law such, that the Friends of Offenders must suffer being Innocents? if that be the reason, why live I so long? If it be no reason, why am I condemned to die? But I am charged, that I had pity of them that should live under such a one as believed himself to be the Son of Jupiter. O faith of friendship, and dangerous liberty of true counse! it was you that deceived me, it was you that compelled me to hide that I thought: I confess I wrote so to the King, but not of the King. I did it not for spite, but for my duty sake: I thought it more expedient for Alexander to have acknowledged the Kindred of Jupiter with silence, then to have made a report thereof with Ostentation. But because the truth of gods

Oracle

Oracle is certain, let god be witness in my cause. Retain me in Prison, till ye may know Jupiters answer concerning this Conspiracy; and in the mean season, he that hath vouchsafed our King to be his Son, will suffer none of them that have conspired against his Offspring, to be unknown: If you suppose torments more then Oracles, I will not desire to be saved from them in tryal of truth. There is an old use, that such as be put to answer upon Life and Death, are accustomed to bring their Parents and Kinsmen before you: Two Brothers of late have I lost; my Father I neither can bring forth, nor dare I call for, because he is accused of this Treason with me. It is a small thing for him that is the Father of many Children, and having but one Son left in whom to take pleasure, not only to lose him, but also to lose his own life with him: Therefore my most dear Father, shalt thou die for me, and with me: It is I that do take thy life from thee: It is I that put a period to thy old days: Why didst thou beget me, unhappy Wretch; in hatred of the gods? Was it to receive such fruit from me as is prepared for thee? I am in doubt, whether my Youth be more unhappy, or thine Age: For I in the flower of my years am plucked away, and the Executioner shall bereave thee of thy life; which if Fortune would have suffered to continue, yet Nature would have asked it ere it had been long. The remembrance of my Father doth put me in minde how loath and timerous I ought to have been to the report of Informations: For when my Father was advertised that Philip the Physitian had prepared poyson for Alexander, he wrote a Letter, to warn the King, that he should not receive the Medicines which his Physitian had prepared: Was

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my Father believed? Was his Letter of any Authority? I my self, when I have reported such things as I heard, how often have I been shaken off with a check for my light belief? So that when we tell things, we are hated; and when we hold our peace, we are suspected? What would you have us to do?

Then one of the Company that stood by, cryed out, That none ought to be Traytors to them by whom they are intrusted.

Thou sayest well (quoth Philotas) whosoever thou art: And therefore, if I have committed Treason, I require no respite of my pain. And here will I make an end of speaking, because my last words seem tedious unto your ears.

As he was speaking these words, his Keepers led him away. There was amongst the Captains one Belon, a hardy man, but one very rude, and void of all civility; who being an old Souldier, was promoted from a low estate, to the degré of Captain. This Belon, presuming upon a toolish audacity, (when all others had done) began to tell them, that when divers had taken up their Lodgings in the Camp, how they were thrust out by the servants of Philotas, who would take his quarters where other men were placed before; and how all the Servants were full of his Waggons, laden with Geld and Silver. He added further, that Philotas would suffer none to lodge near unto him, but always appointed certain to wait whiles he slept, to the intent he should not be disquieted with any noise; not so much for wakening of him, as for disturbing his rest; and that he was so haughty, that he despised the plain men of Phrygia and Paphlagonia, and be-

ing a Macedon born, would not be ashamed to hear men of his own Nation by an Interpreter: And whereas he had heretofore moved to have the Oracle of Jupiter enquired after, he said, it was meant thereby to make Jupiter a lyer, for acknowledging Alexander to be his Son; as if any man should envy the King for that Title, which the gods had given him: But why (said he) did he not ask counsel at Jupiter before he did offend? For now he would have sent to the Oracle, that in the mean season his Father, who ruleth in Media, might raise a power, and with the money that he hath in custody, assemble desperate persons to the fellowship of his mischief. Nevertheless, we shall (said he) send to Jupiter, not to inquire of any thing touching the matter, but to give him thanks, and to sacrifice unto him for the preservation of so good a King. Then all the Company was moved, and among them there began a cry, That the Traitor should be rent in pieces; a which thing Philotas (who feared more grievous punishment) was content to hear.

The King returning, deferred the Council till the next day; either to commit Philotas to prison, to be there racked, or else, in the mean season, to get further knowledge of the Treason; yet albeit it drew towards night, he commanded his Council to be called together.

Some of them thought it best, that Philotas should be stoned to death, after the Macedons Laws: Ephesians, Craterus, and Cenus, determined to have him tryed by torment; and then they who perswaded the contrary, turned also to their Opinion: Therefore when the Council was broken up, Ephesians, with

with *Craterus* and *Cenus*, arose, to haste *Philotas* to the examination. The King called *Craterus* unto him ; and commanding the rest to avoid , had secret communication with him in the innermost part of his lodging, the effect whereof came not to any mans knowledge. He tarried there till the night was far past ; to hear the end of the determination : The Executioners set forth all sorts of cruel torments in the sight of *Philotas*, who of his own minde said unto them :

Why defer you to kill such a man as hath confessed himself the Kings Enemy, and a Traytor ? What needeth more Examination ? It was my intent, it was my will.

Craterus minde was , that whatsoever was confessed before, should be confessed by *Philotas* again upon the Rack. Whiles he was taken upon the Rack, his Body naked, his Eyes bound, he cryed out upon the Law of Nature ; and the gods of the Country ; but all was in vain to their deaf ears. Finally, as a condemned man ; he was torn with most extreme torments by his Enemies , for the Kings pleasure : And notwithstanding both Fire and Scourges were ministred unto him, more to afflict him, then to examine him ; yet he had power of himself, both to refrain from Speaking and groaming. But after that his Body began to be swoln with stripes , and that he could not abide the Scourges ; which pierc'd to the bare bones ; he promised, if they would torment him no more , he would confess whatsoever they should require of him : But first he would have them to swear by the life of *Alexander*, that they should cease their torments , and set the Rack

aside. The which being obtained, he said to *Craterus*, Tell me what ye will have me to confess: Thereat *Craterus* was displeased, thinking by those words that he had mocked him; and caused his torments to be renewed. Then *Philotas* besought him to have a time of respite, whiles he might take his breath, and then he would utter all that ever he knew. In the mean season, the chief of the men at Arms, and especially such as were near to *Parmentio* in any degree of kindred, after that the fame was spread that *Philotas* was tormented, fearing the *Macedonians* Law, (wherein it was ordained, that the Kinsfolk of such as had committed Treason against the King, should be put to death with the Traytors) some slew themselves, some fled into wilde Mountains, and walte Wildernesses; and great dread and fear fell throughout all the Host, until such time as the King having knowledge of it, made Proclamation, that he would pardon the rigour of the Law to the Kinsfolk of the Traytors.

In conclusion *Philotas* made his Confession; but whether it were to deliver himself out of pain, by accusing himself falsly, or not, it is to be doubted; seeing that it is commonly seen, that both those that truly confess, and falsly deny, come all to one end: You are not ignorant (quoth he) how familiar my Father was with *Egilocus*, I mean the same that was slain in the Field; he was the cause of our mischief: For when the King took upon him the Title of Jupiters Son, he disdained therewithal to acknowledge him (quoth he) to be our King, who taketh scorn that Philip was his Father: We are all undone, if we can suffer this: He durst not only despise his Father, but also his Country that did him these wrongs.

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men, but the gods also, who will be reputed a god. We have lost Alexander; we have lost our King; he is fallen to Presumption, neither tolerable to the gods with whom he compareth, neither to men whom he despiseth: Have we with our Blood made him a god who now despiseth us? who disdaigeth to be in the number of men? Trust me, that we also, if we be men, shall be adopted of the gods. Who hath revenged the deaths of Alexander his Grand-father, or of Archelaus, or Perdiccas? But this man hath forgiven them that slew his Father. These were the words that Egilocus spake about supper-time, and on the morrow early my Father sent for me: He himself was heavy, and saw me also sad, for we both had heard that which made us out of quiet: Therefore to prove whether he uttered these words through excess of Wine, or premeditation, we thought good to send for him; and seeking occasion of the same communication, he of his own minde said further; That if we durst undertake the Adventure, he would not shrink from us; or if one bears served notes he would keep our counsel; Yet so long as Darius was living, my Father thought all the matter out of season, because the death of Alexander should be to the advantage of our Enemies, and not of our selves: But Darius once rid out of the way, then he that could destroy the King, should obtain the Empire of Asia, and all the Orient for his reward: Which counsel being approved, Faith and Troth was given; but concerning Darius, I know nothing.

When he had confessed all this, I perceive (quoth he) that it doth not avail me, that I am utterly

guiltless of this Treason. Then they renewed his torments, and did beat at his Face and his Eyes with the Truncheons of their Spears, until they inforced him, not only to betray himself, but also to shew the circumstance of the whole Treason pretended: Because (quoth he) it seemed that the King would continue long among the *Bactrians*, I was afraid, left my Father, that had so great a power in his hands, and the keeping of so much Treasure (being fourscore years of age) should happen to die in the mean season; and then being disarmed of so great a strength, I should not get opportunity to slay the King; wherefore I hasted the matter, whilst the prey was in hand. Thus discovered he the Conspiracy, whereof if they believed not his Father to be Author (he said) that for his tryal he not refused to be tormented again, though it were too grievous for him to endure. The Officers then whispering together, thought the examination sufficient, and returned therewithal unto the King, who on the morrow caused all the Confession to be openly recited before *Philotas*, whom he caused to be led into the place, because he was not able to go; and there he confessed all the Treason again: Then *Demetrius* was brought forth, who was counted the greatest Actor in this Conspiracy, next to *Philotas*: But he with great protestation, and incredible stoutness, both of heart and countenance, denied that he ever intended any evil against the King; and for his tryal, desired to be tormented.

Then *Philotas* casting his eyes about, espied one *Calis* standing by, and made a signe to him to draw near; who being abashed, and refusing to come

come forwards; *Wilt thou (quoth he) suffer Demetrius to lye, and me to be racked again?* With those words *Calis* became speechless, and changed colour. Then the *Macedons* began to suspect that he would accuse Innocents, because the same *Calis* was neither named by *Nichomachus*, nor by *Philotas* himself in his torments. But finally, *Philotas*, before the Kings Officers standing thereabout, confessed, that the Treason was conspired by himself, and *Demetrius*; wherefore as many as were impeached by *Nichomachus*, upon a token given, were stoned to death according to the *Macedons* Law.

Thus was *Alexander* delivered from great peril, not only of his safety, but also of his life. For *Parmenio* and *Philotas* being of such power, if they had not openly been found culpable, could not have been condemned without the grudge of the Army. So long therefore as *Philotas* denied the thing, the matter seemed doubtful, and many men thought him cruelly handled. But after he had confessed the circumstances, no man, not so much as the nearest Friends, took any pity of him.



THE
SEVENTH BOOK
OF
QUINTUS CURTIUS.

Of the Acts of Alexander the Great, King of Macedonia.

AS the Men of War thought *Philotas*, justly put to death, his offence being fresh in memory; even so, after he was gone, their envy was turned into pity: The Nobleness of the Young Man moved them much; so did the number of the Old Years and Desolation of his Father. He was the first that made the way open for *Alexander* into *Asia*, always partaker of his perils, the Captain of his Vaward, and chief in Councel with the King his Father; and so truly to *Alexander* himself, that in oppressing of *Attalus*, his Enemy, he would use no other mans service. The remembrance of these things was fresh among all the Soldiers, and seditious words came to the Kings ears, who being moved therewith, did wisely with travel avoid the evil occasions coming of idleness: wherefore he caused it to be proclaimed, that all men should be in a readiness before the Court-gate, where

where they being once assembled, he came forth to speak unto them: And as it was before contrived, he required the Band of the *Agrians* to bring forth one *Alexander Lynxes*, which long before *Philotas* had conspired the Kings Death. This man being accused of two Witnesses (as before said) had remained in prison three years together; against whom it was proved, that he was of counsel with *Pausanius* in the killing of King *Philip*: But because he saluted first *Alexander* by the Name of King, his punishment was deferred, rather then his offence forgiven: For at the intercession of *Antipater*, his Father-in-law, the King had respited his just indignation for that time. But the old festered sore brake out again, and the consideration of his peril present, renewed the remembrance of his danger passed: Therefore when he was brought forth of prison, and commanded to say for himself, albeit he had three years leisure to devise his answer, yet stammering and trembling, could bring forth but little of that which he purposed to say; and finally, both his heart and his memory failed him: wherefore there was none that doubted, but that his fearfulness was a token of a guilty Conscience, and no default of memory: So that whilst he was staggering and hacking in his tale, they that stood next thruit him through with their Pikes; whose body conveyed out of the place, the King commanded *Aminias* and *Simmannas* to be brought forth; for *Palamon*, their youngest Brother, after he had knowledge of *Philotas* torment, fled away. Of all *Philotas* friends, these two were most dear to him, and through his commendation, advanced to high and honourable Offices:

Offices : The King rememb'ring with what earnestness and labour *Philotas* had brought them into his favour, doubted not but they were privy to his last Conspiracy. Whereupon he declared unto the multitude, that he had occasion of suspition against those men long ago by his Mothers Letters, whereby he had warning to beware of them; and that now fearing the sequel of worser inconveniencies, had made them sure, inforced thereunto by apparent presumptions. First, he said, the day before *Philotas* Treason came to light, it was well known, that they had much conference with him in secret: And also their Brother, who fled away when *Philotas* was on the Rack, he had declared, by the absenting of himself, the cause of his flying. He shewed also, that of late, contrary to their accustom'd manner of waiting, without any cause moving them thereunto, but only by pretence of diligence, they pressed next about the King of all other; whereat marvelling that they would furnish a Room whereunto they were not appointed, became so in doubt of their clustering together, that he returned into the Train of the Gentlemen that followed him : He declared beside, that when *Antiphanes*, Clerk of the Stable, the day before *Philotas* Treason came to light, according to his accustom'd manner, gave knowledge to *Amintas*, that he should deliver of his Horse to such as had lost their own; he proudly answered again, *that except he would content himself, he should know shortly what manner of man he was*: Which violence of tongue, and rashness of words bulked out (quoth he) was nothing else, but a declaration and token of his trayterous heart. These things

things being true (he said) they had no less deserved then *Philotas*; and if they were otherwise, he desired they might answer unto the points: Thereupon *Antiphanes* was brought in to give Evidence of the Horse not delivered, and of his proud answer given with threatening. When *Amintas* had gotten liberty to speak, he desired of the King, that whiles they answered for themselves, their Bands might be loosed: which thing obtained, he made suit to have his garment to be cast upon him; which *Alexander* not only granted, but willed a weapon to be delivered unto his hands, as other Esquires used. When he had received the same, he eschued a little the place where the Corpse of *Lincestes* lay, and said in this wise:

Whatsoever shall become of us (Sir King) we must think if our chance be good, the same to proceed of your favour; and if it be evil, we must judge the fault to be in our Fortune, seeing you suffer us to plead our cause without prejudice, setting our mindes free, and our bodies at large, with the same apparel restoring us, wherein we were wont to follow you: Our Cause is such, that we cannot doubt of it, and we are passed the fear of Fortune; therefore, with your favour, I will answer first those points wherewith you charged us last. We know most assuredly, that we be innocent of any kinde of words spoken to the derogation of your Majesty; and durst affirm, that you had overome all envy of men, but that peradventure you would think that I went about with fair words to excuse things that have been maliciously spoken: Though it were so, that words sometime did escape us, either when we were faint, or wearied in marching, hazarding our selves

selves in fighting ; or else when we were sick , or
dressing of our Wounds : Our honest doings otherwise
do deserve , that ye should rather impute the same to
the time , then to evil disposition in us : For it is com-
monly seen , where anything chanceth amiss , all men in
manner become guilty of the fault : We do violence
sometime to our own bodies , which we hate not :
Yea , the coming of the Fathers unto the Children ,
sometime is both ungrateful , and also hateful . But
on the other side , when we receive rewards or gifts ,
or when we come laden home with Spoil , Who can
then stay us ? Who can restrain our chearfulness ? or ,
Who can resist our courage in fighting ? The Nature
of Man , is neither to keep measure in displeasure , nor
in gladness . Thus are we driven by the violence of
affection , sometimes with pity , and sometimes with
fury , as our present desire doth govern us . One
while we are in minde to pass through India , as
far as the Ocean Sea ; and by and by , the memory
of our Wives , and Children , and Country , altereth
our purpose : But as soon as the Trumpet soundeth ,
straight all these imaginations do pass away , and
every man then runneth in his Array , revenging
upon their Enemies the displeasures conceived with-
in their owne Tents . I would Philotas had offend-
ed but only in words ; I would pass over that , and
return to the other point wherof we are accused :
The friendship that was betwixt Philotas and us ,
I will not only not deny , but also confess , that we did
covet the same , and received thereby great commo-
dities . Do you marvel that we did honour and e-
steeem the Son of Parmenio , whom you did chuse to
be next about your Person , and did advance above

all other your Friends? Yon your self (if you please to bear the truth) are the cause of this your peril. What other thing moved us to covet Philotas Friendship, then that we desired to please you? By this preferment we are advanced unto your favour: He stood in such height with you, that it behoved us as well to sue for his benevolence, as to fear his displeasure: Have not we sworn that we woulde repute your Enemies our Enemies, and honour your Friends as our own? Should we have been found disobedient in this Bond of our Duty; and especially towards him, whom ye did prefer above all men? If this be a fault, ye haue few Innocents, or surely none at all: All men desired to be Philotas friends, but all that did covet it could not be accepted. So if ye will make no difference between the Partners of his Treason, and such as were his Friends; then so many are Offenders, as would have been his Friends. What presumption have you now that we shoulde offend? I think, because yesterday Philotas talked with us familiarly alone: Thereof I cannot excuse my self, if yesterday I changed any thing of mine accustomed manner and living; but if so be we used every day to do the like, then Custom must needs make it to be no Offence. But it may be said, The Horses were not delivered to Antiphanes; and the day before Philotas was detected, this difference was betwixt Antiphanes and me: If that be a just cause of Suspition, that I would not then deliver my Horses, there shall arise a doubtful Plea between the Denyer and the Demander, sauing that his Cause is better that keepeth still his owne, then his that requireth another mans. I had ten Horses, of the which Antiphanes

bud.

had distributed eight to such as had lost their own; so there only remained two, which when he would proudly and wrongfully have taken away, I was enforced to keep them still, except I would have served on foot. I cannot deny but that this communication was bad between a man of a free stomach, and a person of a vile nature, which could do no manner of service, but take away mens Horses, and give them to others. What mischief is this, that at one time I must purge my self both to the King, and to Antiphanes? But to the other point, that your Mother did write to you of us, as of your Enemies; I would to God she had more wisely been careful of her Sons safeguard, then doubtfully imagined such inventions: Why doth she not also express the cause of her fear? Besides, she sheweth not her Author, nor yet signifieth one word whereby she was moved to write to you such Letters of fear. O wretched estate of mine, which standeth in no less hazard to hold my peace, then to speak! Let howsoeuer the event shall be, I had rather my discourse should displease you, then my Cause. If you remember when you sent me to fetch new Soldiers out of Macedon, even when you shewed me, that in your Mothers house there lurked many lusty young Gentlemen; you commanded me, that in executing your Commission, I should spare none, but bring with me perforce all such as refused the Wars: which thing I did, and fulfilled your will therein, more largely then was expedient for me; for I brought unto you Gorgatus, Heccateus, and Gorgata, which now minister unto you, and do very acceptable service. What Creature therefore is more wretched then I, who if I had not fulfilled your will, should rightfully have suffered; and

now

now I perish, because I obeyed you? For truly there was no cause that moved your Mothen to persecute us, then that we preferred your Command before a Womans favour: I brought unto you of Macedons six thousand and eight hundred Horsemen, of the which the greatest part would not have followed me: It is reason therefore, that an as much as your Mother is displeased with us for your Cause, that ye mitigate her in whose displeasure you have put us.

Whiles Amintas was thus pleading his Cause; they that had pursued his Brother Palemon (of whom we spake) came leading him bound into the place. Then the rage of the people could scarcely be pacified: but as the manner was in such cases, they would have stoned Palemon to death; yet he boldly spake to them, and said:

I desire no favour for my self; so that my flying be not hurtful to the Innocency of my Brethren, whom if you cannot think clear, let the fault be laid to me; For their Cause appeared the better, because I which fled away am suspected.

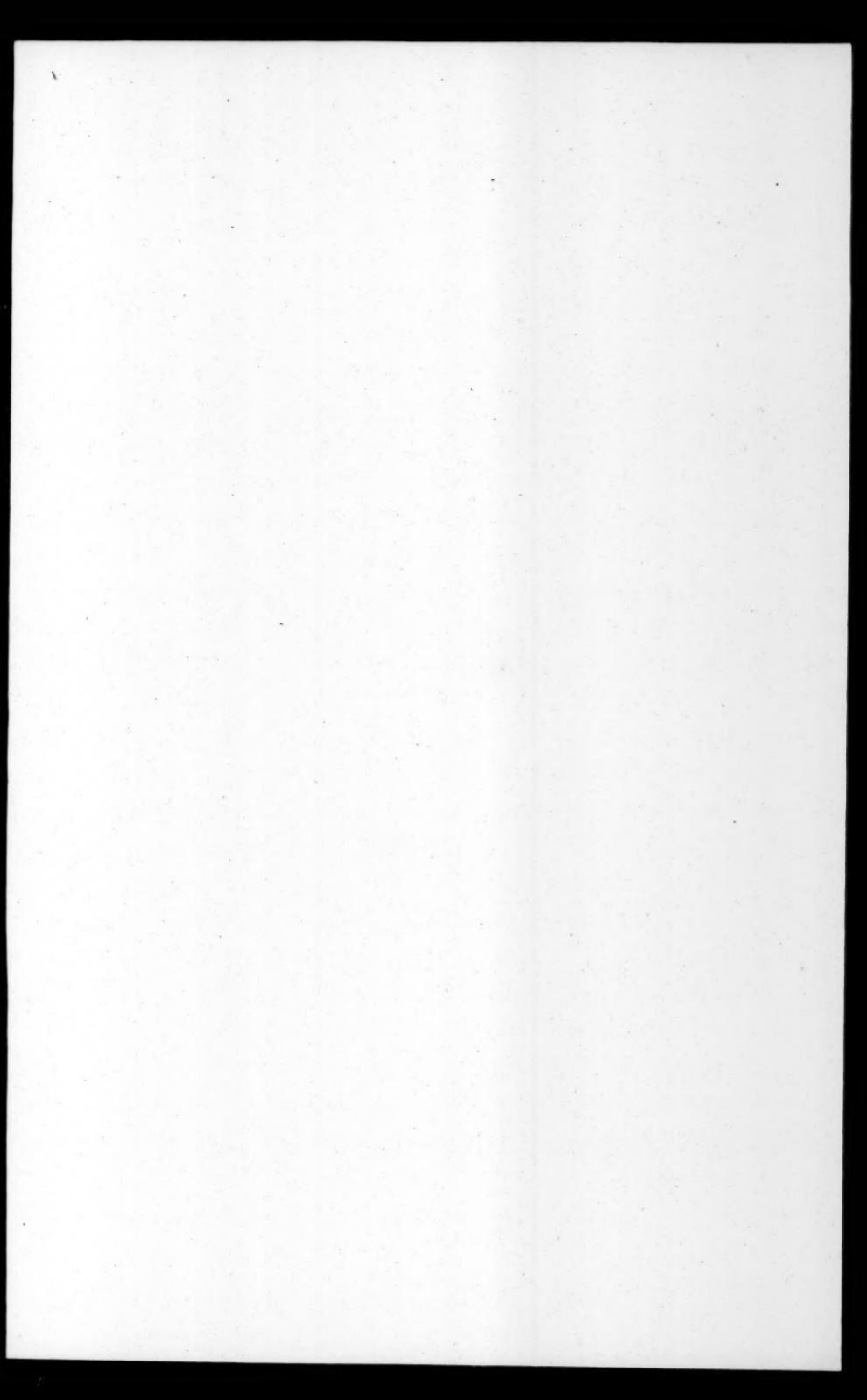
As soon as he had spoken these words, the whole Assembly were inclined to his favour, and dissolved to tears; being so suddenly and so contrary turned, that now they were all on his part, who a little before were against him: He was in the prime flower of his Youth, and through other mens fear fled away amongst those Horsemen, who were amazed at Philotas torments: His company had left him behinde; and whiles he was in doubt whether he might turn again, or fly further forwards, he was taken by them which pursued after him. He then began to weep, and beat himself about the face, nor

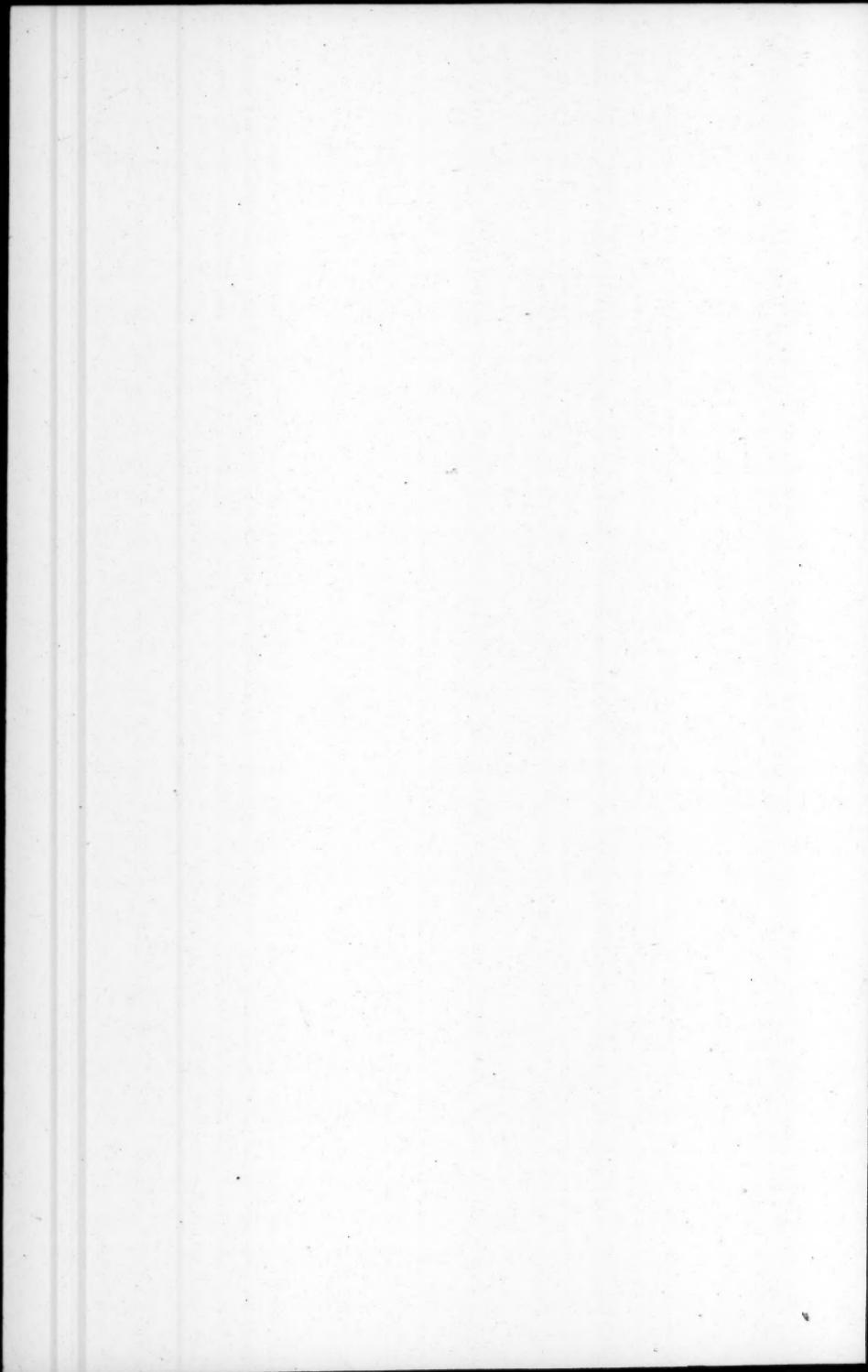
so much lamenting his own chance, as the condition of his Brethren, being in danger for his cause with which behaviour of his, he moved the King and all the company there present; only his Brother Amintas could not be pacified, but beheld him with a fierce countenance, and said:

O mad Creature! Then oughtest thou to have wept when thou didst put thy Spars to thy Horse as a Traynor to thy Brethren, and a Companion to Traytors. Thou Wretch! whither, and from whence didst thou flee? Thou hast now brought to pass, that both I am thought worthy of Death, and also must become an Accuser of others.

Palemon thereupon confessed himself to have offended in that point, but more grievously against his Brethren, than towards himself. Then the multitude could not abstain from weeping and shouting, being Tokens whereby men in Assembly are wont to declare their affections, and with one consent they cryed to the King, *That he shold spare Innocents, and men of service.* His friends, upon that occasion, did rise, and with weeping eyes required mercy of the King. Then he commanded silence and said:

By mine own judgment, I do pardon both you, Amintas, and your Brethren, desirous that ye shoulde be more mindful of my benefit, then of your own jeopardy: Come in favour again with me, with that fidelity by which I am reconciled unto you. Except these things which were brought in Evidence had been tryed to the uttermost, my ~~disfavour~~ might have been suspected in this matter: Better it is therefore to be cleared, then to remain in jealousie, and thin





that no man can be acquitted, except he be first detected: Thou Amintas, pardon thy Brother, and let that be a token of thy hearts being reconciled unto me.

This done, the King dismissed the Assembly, and sent for Polidamus, whom of all men Parmenio loved best, accustomed always to stand next him in Battel: And though the clearness of his conscience did assure him to come boldly; yet after he was commanded to bring forth his Brethren, being but young, and unknown to the King, his confidence was turned into fear, and he began to doubt, imagining in his minde rather such things as might hurt him, then by what means he was thus circumvented. In the mean season, the Guard which had commandment thereunto, brought forth his Brethren. When the King saw Polidamus pale for fear, he called him near unto him, and commanding all men apart, he said unto him:

Through Parmenio *his Treason*, we were all in danger; but chiefly I and thou, whom under colour of friendship he deceived most: In the pursuing and punishment of whom, see how much I trust thy fidelity, for I am determined to use thee as a Minister herein; and whilst thou goest about it, thy Brethren shall be thy pledges. Thou shalt go into Media, and bear my Letters to my Officers, written with mine own hand: It is necessary haste be made, that the witness of the Fame be prevented: I will, that ye come thither in the night, and that the tenour of my writing be executed the day after. Ye shall carry Letters likewise unto Parmenio, one from me, and another written in the name of Philotas: I have his Signet in my custody:

So that when Parmenio shall see both you, and the Letter sealed with his Sons Ring, he will be without any Suspition.

Polidamus being thus delivered of fear, promised his diligence a great deal more earnestly then was required. When *Alexander* saw his promptness in the matter, he both commended his good will, and rewarded him accordingly: And *Polidamus* changed his own apparel, and took other, after the fashion of the *Arabians*, with two of the same Country to be his Guides; for whose truth, their Wives and Children were pledges in the mean season: And so they passed on Camels through such places as were desart for lack of moisture, and within eleven days came unto their journeys end, before any knew of their coming. *Polidamus* then took again his *Macedons* apparel, and in the dead time of the night came unto *Cleanders* lodging, who had the chief Authority there, next unto *Parmenio*. When *Cleander*, by his Letters, understood the Kings pleasure, *Polidamus* having more Letters to deliver likewise to others, agreed by the break of day to go together to *Parmenio*.

As they were going, tidings came to *Parmenio* of *Polidamus* arrival, who rejoicing, both for the coming of his Friend, and for the desire he had to know of the Kings Estate (the rather, because he had received no Letter from him a long space) commanded *Polidamus* to come to him. The houses of that Country have large Back-sides, and pleasant Orchards full of Trees, being the chief delight of the Princes and great Lords there. The Captains which had received Commandment by the Kings Letters

to kill him, came to *Parmenio*, walking under the shadow of the Trees, being agreed among themselves to execute the slaughter, when he should begin to read his Letters.

So soon as *Parmenio* had espied *Polidamus* coming afar off, with a semblance of joy (as appeared by his countenance) he ran to imbrace him, and after salutation given to each other, he delivered the Kings Letter : As he was unclosing it, he demanded of *Polidamus* what the King intended to do ? *You shall know that*, said he, *by the Contents of our Letters* : Which when he had read, *I perceive* (*quoth Parmenio*) *that the King purposeth a Voyage against the Arachosians*; *Surely he is a painful Prince, and never in rest*: *But now, after so much glory won, it were time for him to take his ease, and have consideration of his health and safeguard*. And then he read the other Letter, written in the Name of *Philotas*; whereat he was joyful, as appeared by his countenance : With that *Cleander* stabbed him with his Sword in his side, and after striking him over the throat, the residue thrust him in, as he lay a dying.

But *Parmenio*'s men, who stood near at hand, and saw the murder, whereof they knew not the cause, ran into the Camp, and with their troublous tidings set all the Souldiers in an uproar : They ran straight to Arms, and clusiring together about the place where the murder was done, they made an exclamation, that except *Polidamus*, and the other Actors in that deed, were delivered to their hands, they would overthrow the Wall, and make sacrifice to their dead Captain with the bloud of the Offenders.

ders. *Cleander* willed the chief of them to be let in, and recited the Kings Letters, wherein was contained the Treason of *Parmenio* intended against him, with a request to them to sit in revenge: Then immediately, upon the Kings pleasure known, the Sedition was appealed, but the grudge was not rid out of their hearts: The most part departed, saving a few, who instantly required, that at the least they might be suffered to bury the body. It was denied them long, by reason of *Cleander*, who dreaded the Kings displeasure: but because they began to wax more earnest, intending to avoid matter of Sedition, he cut off the Head, which he sent to the King, and left them the Body to bury.

This was the end of *Parmenio*, a Noble-man both in War and Peace: many things had he done without the King, but the King without him did never any thing worthy of praise: He served and pleased, in all affairs, a King most happy and fortunate; and being threescore and ten years of age, executed the Office of a Captain as lively, as though he had been young in years, and pretermitted not oftentimes the parts of a common Souldier: He was quick in counsel, doughty of deed, well beloved of all Princes, but most dear to the common sort of Souldiers: Yet whether those things moved him to be King, or else caused him to be suspected thereof, it is yet to be doubted. For whether the words that *Philotas* spake, when he was overcome with the pains of his last torments, were true or false, or else that he sought an end of his pain by accusing himself falsely, it was much doubtful, seeing there was no such thing proved at such time as the matter was most fresh in memory.

Such

Such as *Alexander* perceived to grudge at the death of *Philotas*, were separated from the rest of the Army, and put into one Cohort under *Leonidas* their Captain, who in times past was of near familiarity with *Parmenio*: The King did bear privy displeasure against them; and therefore willing to prove the disposition of every man, he gave warning throughout the Army, that all such as would write into *Macedonia*, and have their Letters surely conveyed, should bring them to be carried with such as he would send: Whereupon, every man did write frankly to their Friends such things as were in their hearts: Some shewed themselves to be offended with the long Wars, and some seemed to be well pleased; but all their Letters were intercepted, as well of such as commended the King, as of those that grudged at his doings. Wherefore he willed such, as by their Letters disclosed themselves to be weary of the travel of the Wars, for their reproach, to be put in a Regiment apart from the rest; whereby he both gave them occasion to shew their hardness, and besides, removed the liberty of their tongues from the credulous ears of the rest. Which rash device, as all other things, turned to the setting forth of the Kings felicity; for in all extremities, they shewed themselves the readiest, and the most forward; and whilst they covetted to redeem their reproach, their valiant doings cou'd not be hidden in so small a number, being separated by themselves.

These things being ordered after this manner, he appointed a Ruler over the *Arians*, and proclaimed his journey against the *Arsapians*, who by chan-

ging of their names, were called *Evergitans*, since the time that they relieved *Cyrus* Army with Lodging and Victuals, being afflicted with cold and penury. It was the fifth day before he entred into their Country, where he understood, that *Satibarzanes*, who took *Bessus* part, was with a power of Horsemen entred again amongst the *Arrians*: He sent against him *Caranas* and *Erigius*, and in their aid *Artabasus* and *Andromachus*, with six thousand Greek Footmen, and six hundred Horsemen. *Alexander* continued threescore days in setting order amongst the *Evergitans*, upon whom he bestowed a great sum of money, for the notable fidelity they shewed towards *Cyrus*: and leaving *Amenides* to be their Gouvernour (who was *Darius* Secretary) he went to subdue the *Arachosians*, who border upon the Sea of *Pontus*.

The Men of War, who were under *Parmenio* his Rule, came then to *Alexander*, being six thousand *Macedons*, with two hundred of the Nobility, five thousand Greek Footmen, and two hundred Horsemen, which were the chief force of their power. To these *Arachosians*, *Mennon* was appointed Lieutenant, with four thousand Footmen, and six hundred Horsemen.

Alexander from thence entred with his Army into a Country not known unto such as bordered upon it, for the Inhabitants would not have conversation with any other people: They were called *Paramisadans*, being a very rustical kinde of men, and most rude amongst all the Barbarous Nations, the hardness of the Country had so indurated their dispositions: They lye most towards the cold North-

Fole,

Pole, joyning with the *Bacrians* upon the West, and bending towards the *Indi in Sea* upon the South. They used to build their houses of Brick; and because the Land is full of barren Mountains, and void of Timber, they make their whole houses of the same, which beginning broad beneath, groweth ever more narrow towards the top; and like the Keel of a Ship, where the holes are made above to receive light: Such of their Pines and Trees that bring forth fruit, which they will preserve from the violence of the cold, they cover with earth during the Winter-season; and when the Snow is vanished away, they restore them again to the Air, and to the Sun: The earth was there covered with Snow, and frozen so hard, that there remained no signe of any Bird or Beast within the Country: The Air besides was so dark, that little light appeared; but the earth being covered as it were with a dim shadow, men could scarcely discern things very near at hand.

The Army being brought into this Country destitute of Tillage, suffered all the discommodities and miseries that might be endited, both of hunger, cold, wearinels and despair: There were many of them that died for cold, and the Snow destroyed their feet, but especially it took away the sight of many. When they were wearied, and not able to travel any further, they laid themselves down upon the frozen Snow, and having once left themotion of their bodies, which stirred in them their natural heat, they were straightways so benummed with cold, that they could not rise again, till they were lifted up by their Companions; and

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there was no remedy for it, but to compel them to go forwards; for then by stirring of themselves, their natural heat was revived, and they recovered again some strength. Such as recovered the Cottages wherein the Country-men dwelled, were very well refreshed; but the darkness was so great, that the houses could not be otherwise discerned, then by the smoak.

The Inhabitants that had never seen Strangers before amongst them, when they beheld the armed men coming suddenly upon them, were amazed for fear, and brought forth whatsoever they had, to save their bodies from violence. Alexander marched on foot amongst his men, raising such as were down, and relieving such as he saw afflicted with the cold with his own cloaths: He was seen one while in the Van, another while in the middest, and sometime in the Rereward, to the great travel of his body. At length they came to places better manured, where he refreshed his Army with plenty of victuals, and there remained in Camp till such time as the Souldiers that were left behinde did overtake their Fellows. Then he went forwards with his Army to the Mount *Caucasus*, which divideth all *Asia* into two parts: For on the one side it stretcheth towards the Sea of *Cilicia*, and on the other side to the *Caspian Sea*, to the River of *Axer*, and the Desarts of *Scythia*.

To this Mount *Caucasus* there joyneth another Mountain, called *Taurus*, next unto it in bigness; which riseth from *Cappadocia*, and passing by *Cilicia*, clotheth with the Mountains of *Armenia*. Out of these Mountains joyning thus together, as it were

in

in one continual ridge, all the Rivers in *Asia* do descend, some of them running into the *Red Sea*, some into the *Caspian* and *Hircanian Sea*, and other unto the *Sea of Pontus*. In seventeen days, *Alexander*, with his Armies, passed Mount *Caucasus*; where, in a Rock that is ten furlongs in compas, Antiquity fained that *Prometheus* lay bound. At the foot of this Mountain *Alexander* chose out a place to build a City, wherein he placed seven thousand of the most Ancient *Macedons*, and such others whose service he would not use any more in the Wars, and called the same *Alexandria*.

But *Bessus*, that was put in fear with *Alexander's* celerity, made sacrifice unto the gods of his Country; and according to the custom of those, in the midst of his Banquets, he consulted with his friends and his Captains, for the maintenance of the Wars: And when they were well charged with Wine, they extolled greatly their own power, despising the rashness of their Enemies, and their small number: But chiefly *Bessus* was most arrogant in his words; who puffed up with pride, by reason of the Kingdom he had newly got by Treason, began to declare, *Hw that Darius by his folly had increased his Enemies Fame*; who would needs fight with them in the Streights of Cilicia, when by retiring back, he might have drawn them (before they had been aware) into Desart places, and there have put Rivers and Mountains between his Enemies and him, and amongst the same so inclosed them, that they could by no possibility have fled away, and much less make any resistance: Wherefore (he said) he was resolved to retire back amongst the Sogdians, where

where the River of Oxus should be as a Wall betwixt him and his Enemies, till such time as he might assemble a strong power of the Nations thereabout; knowing very well, that the Chorismians, the Dahans and Sacans, the Indians and Scythians, inhabiting beyond the River of Tanais, would come to his assistance; of whom there was none so low, that any Macedon, with the top of his head, could reach to his shoulders. They all in their drunkenness assented to him, affirming that only to be the wisest way: whereupon Bessus caused the Wine to be carried about plentifully, as if by a Sea of Drink he intended to arrive to Victory.

There was at that Feast one Cobares a Median, who in the Art Magick (if it be an Art, and not rather a deceit of some vain man) was more notable by his profession than by his knowledge, but otherwise a moderate and an honest man; he making a preamble before his discourse, said: He was not ignorant how much better it were to be obedient to others counsel, then to be a counsel-giver: For such as are followers of other mens judgments, are sure to have no worse fortune then the rest: but such as are Authors and persuaders of any matter, commonly prepare their own peril; and therewith delivered the Cup he had in his hand, and proceeded thus:

The Nature of Man, in this respect, may be called perverse, because every one can see better into other mens affairs then into his own: Their counsels must needs be always ful of perturbations, who take their own advice; for fear is an impediment to some, desire unto others, and to many, a self-love of the thing that they have devised. I will not speak of pride, nor impute it

unto

unto any man ; ye have seen by experience how every one doth esteem that thing only to be best , which he himself hath invented : The Diadem of a King that you wear upon your head, is a great burthen , which though it be born moderately, the weight thereof will oppress the bearer. It is not fury can avail in this case, but wise and prudent counsel.

When he had spoken those words, he rehearsed a Proverb commonly used amongst the Bactrians, which is, *That a fearful Dog dath bark more then bite ; and that the deepest Rivers do run with least noise ;* which things I have rehearsed, because such prudence may appear as remained amongst the Barbarous. As he talked after this manner, such as heard him wondred to what end his discouſe would tend : Then he began to shew his advice, which was more profitable to Bessus then grateful.

Alexanders celerity (quoth he) is such that he is come in a manner to the entry of your Court ; he can remove his Army before you can remove this Table : You say that you will draw your assistance from the River of Tanais , and that you will put Rivers betwixt you and your Enemies ; I would know, if he be not able to follow wheresoever you shall fly. If the way be indifferent, it must needs be most easie and assured to the Conquerour : And though you think fear doth make much speed, yet hope is more swift. It were therefore methinks expedient, to procure the favour of him that is the Mightiest, and yield your self to the Stronger : Howsorever he shall accept it, your Fortune is more like to be better that way, then to remain still an Enemy. Consider, that you possess another mans Kingdom, and there-

fore

fore you may the better depart therewith : For ye can not be a just King, till ye receive the Kingdom of him that is able to give it, and take it away. This is faithful counsel, wherfore it is not necessary to delay the execution thereof : The Horse that is of Noble courage, will be governed by the shadow of a Kod; but the dull beast is not pricked forwards with the Spar.

Bessus, that was fierce of nature, and well set forwards with drink, became in such a fury at his words, that he could scarcely be withheld by his Friend from slaying Cobares, for he pulled out his Sword to have done the deed, and departed out of the Feast in a great rage : But Cobares in the tumult escaped away, and came unto Alexander. Bessus had eight thousand Bactrians armed attending upon him, who so long as they judged by the intemperateness of the Air in these parts, the Macedons would rather have gone into India then into Bactria, were very obedient to his Commandment ; But when they understood that Alexander was coming towards them, every one shrunk away, and forsook Bessus. Then he with a Band of his own Family, who were yet faithful unto him, passed the River of Oxus, burning such Boats as carried him over, because the same should not serve his Enemy in following him, and assembled a new power amongst the Sogdians. Alexander, as it hath been said before, passed Mount Caucasus ; but for want of Corn, his Army was brought to the extremity of hunger : Instead of Oyl, they were fain to anoint themselves with a juyce, which they wrung out of Seseman, every measure whereof was called Amphora, and sold for 240 Deniers ; every like measure

measure of honey for 390, and of wine for 300, and yet of the same very little to be had. They have in that Country certain Vessels called *Siry*, which the Inhabitants do use to hide so privily, that they cannot be found except they be digged for within the earth. The Country-men bury there their Corn after that manner, for want whereof the Souldiers were fain to live with Herbs, and such Fish as they caught in the Rivers : But that kinde of food failing also, they were inforced to kill their Carriage-Beasts, and lived with the flesh of them until they came into *Bactria*; the nature of the soil of which Country, is of sundry kindes. Some places are plentiful of Wood and Vines, and abundant of pleasant fruit; the ground is fat, well watered, and full of Springs, and some as barren.

Those parts which be most temperate, are sowed with Corn, and the rest are reserved for feeding of Beasts : But the greater part of that Country is covered over with barren Sands, and withered up for want of moisture, nourishing neither man, nor bringing forth fruit, but with certain windes that come from the Sea of *Pontus*: The Sand in the plains is blown together in heaps, which seem afar off like great Hills; whereby the accustomed ways be so shut up, that no signe of them can appear : Therefore such as do possess those plains, use to observe the stars in the night, as they do who sail on the Seas, by the course of them directing their journey : The nights, for the most part, be brighter then the days; wherefore in the day-time the Country is wilde and unpassable, when they can neither finde any tract, nor any way to go in, nor mark nor signe where-

by

by to pass , the Stars being hidden by the Mist : If the same winde chance to come , during the time that men be passing , it overwhelmeth them with Sand .

Where the Country is temperate , it bringeth forth great plenty both of men and horse ; so that the *Bacrians* may make thirty thousand Horsemen . *Bacria* , which is the Head-City of that Region , standeth under a Mountain called *Parapanisus* : The River called *Bacria* runneth by the Walls , whereof both the City and the Country take their names .

Alexander being there in Camp , received Letters out of *Greece* , how the *Lacedemonians* , and the whole Country of *Peloponnesus* , had rebelled against him : For they had not lost the Battel at such time as the Messengers were dispatched , that brought the news of their revolt . In the neck of these evil tidings , there came another present terrour , which was , that the *Scythians* inhabiting beyond the River of *Tanais* , were coming to aid *Bessus* . At the same time also , tidings came unto him of the Battel that *Caranus* and *Erigius* had fought with the *Arians* , where *Satibarzanes* , that was newly revolted , being Chief of the Country , seeing the Battel to remain equal on both sides , rid into the forefront , and plucked off his Helmet , forbidding any of his side , either to cast dart , or strike a stroke ; and there made a challenge to fight hand to hand , if any man durst come forth and prove his strength .

Erigius , Captain to the *Macedons* , was a man stricken in years , but yet not inferiour to any young man in stoutness of stomach , or strength of body ; who

who could not bear the proud arrogancy of *Satribarzanes*, but stepping forwards, and plucking off his Helmet, shewed his hoary hair: *The day is come* (quoth he) *that I will either by the victory, or by my honest death, make tryal what kinde of men Alexander bath to his Friends and Souldiers;* and without more words he made towards his Enemy. It could not be judged, but that both Armies had stayed their hands by appointment, for they gave back immediately on both sides, to let them have free scope, each party standing in expectation what should become of the Challenger; for they could not but think themselves partakers of their adventure: *Satribarzanes* first charged his Staff, which *Erigius* avoided by bending his head aside; but he in the midit of his Race, struck the other with his Spear through the throat, so that it came forth again at his neck. *Satribarzanes*, upon that stroak, fell down from his Horse; but yet made resistance, till such time as *Erigius* plucked the Spear out of the wound, and thrust it again into his mouth; who to rid himself out of pain, furthered his Enemies stroke: Then the *Arians* seeing their Captain slain, whom they had followed rather of necessity, then of their own free wills, called to remembrance *Alexanders* benefits, and yielded themselves unto *Erigius*.

Alexander rejoiced much at the good success of this Enterprise, doubting greatly the *Lacedemonians*; but he did bear out their Rebellion stoutly, saying, *That they durst never disclose their meaning, until they knew be was come to the Confines of India.* *Alexander* having removed his Camp,

and

and going forwards in the pursuit of *Bessus*, *Erigius* met him, presenting the spoil of his Enemy, as a memorial of his Victory. Thereupon he committed the Rule of *Bactria* to *Artabasus*, where with a Garrison he left his Carriage; and with a power that was light, and fit for travel, he entred into the Desarts of the *Susitans*, conveying his Army by night,

In the want of water (that hath been declared before) desperation moved them to thirst, before they had desire to drink: For by the space of four hundred furlongs, they found no water at all. The vapours of the Sun, in the Summer-season, did so burn the Land, that when it began to wax hot, it scorched all things, as it had been with a continual fire: And then the light being somewhat obscured by the Mist that rose out of the earth by the immoderate heat, caused the Plains to have an appearance of the Main Sea.

Their journey in the night seemed tolerable, because their bodies were somewhat refreshed with the Dew, and the cold of the morning: But when the day came, and the heat rose, then the drought drying up all their natural humours, both their mouths and their bowels were inflamed with heat: Then their hearts failed, and their bodies fainted, being in such a condition, that they could neither stand still, nor pass forwards. A few that were taught by such as knew the Country, had gotten water, which refreshed them somewhat; but as the heat increased, so their desire grew again to drink: There was no remedy, but to give amongst the Soldiers all the Wine and Oyl that remained in store;

for

for drink was so sweet unto them, that it took away the fear of any thirst to come: But such as had greedily gulped in the water that they got, became so heavy, that they were neither able to bear their Armour, nor go forwards: so that they seemed most happy who had gotten no water at all; for such as had taken of it intordinately, were inforced by vomit to put up the same again.

As *Alexander* carefully in this calamity stood with his Friends that were perswading him to have respect to himself, for that he only, and the greatness of his heart, should be some relief unto them in his adversity; there came two Souldiers, who going before with such as had taken up the Camp, had found water, and were carrying of it in Bottles unto their Sons, which were sore afflicted for want of drink behinde in the Army: When they saw the King, one of them opened his Bottle, and filling a Cup, presented the water to the King, who receiving it at his hand, demanded to whom they carried that water; they said, to their Sons: Then he restored the Cup again full, as it was given him, and said: *I will not drink alone; for so little cannot be divided amongst us all: Make you haste therefore to carry to your Sons that you have gotten with your travel.*

But *Alexander* travelled so long, that before night he came to the River of *Oxus*: The more part of the Army, not able to follow for feebleness, were left far behinde; to the intent therefore that such as followed after, might know where the Camp was, he caused a fire to be made on the top of an hill, and gave order, that when the Vaward had refreshed themselves with meat and drink, they should

fill their Bottles with water, and go back with the same to relieve their fellows. The breath of such as drank intemperately closed up, and they died immediately : The number of these men was greater, then ever *Alexander* lost in any Battel ; but he would neither put off his Arms, refresh himself with meat or drink, nor ease his body, but stood in the way where his Army passed, not departing till the last man was come into the Camp. He watched all that night, and passed it over in great trouble of minde ; and the day that ensued brought no release of his care ; for there were neither Boats to pass the River withal, nor could he make any Bridge, seeing there was no Wood growing nigh at hand. But at length he found out a device, whereunto only necessity did inforce him : They took Beasts skins, and stuffed them full of Straw, whereupon they laid themselves, and so swummed over the River. Such as first recovered the further side, stood in order of Battel till the rest were passed over ; by which means, in six days, he conveyed over his whole Army.

Having passed the River of *Oxus*, his purpose was to go forwards in the pursuit of *Bessus*, till he understood such things as had chanced among the *Sufitans*. There was one *Spitamenes*, whom *Bessus* chiefly honoured of all his friends : But there are no benefits that can stay a man given up to perjury, which in him was the more tolerable, because he judged no mischief too great for him who had slain his Prince ; for the revenge of *Darius* was a fair colour to his offence : But it is to be thought, that his present fortune was more envied, then his past actions were hated.

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When it was known that *Alexander* had advanced over the River of *Oxus*, *Spitamenes* did associate with him in counsel for his enterprise *Dataphernes* and *Catanes*, whom *Bessus* specially trusted: They agreed to the Designe more readily then he would desire them; and taking to them eight young men that were strong of personage, used this kinde of policy. *Spitamenes* repaired to *Bessus*, and getting him alone, informed him, that he had found out how *Dataphernes* and *Catanes* had conspired to deliver him into *Alexanders* hands; whereas (he said) he had prevented them, while they were about their purpose, having taken them both, and put them fast in prison.

Bessus then thinking himself much bound unto him for so great a good turn, gave him many thanks; and for the desire he had to be revenged of his Enemies, willed *Spitamenes* to bring them to his presence: He caused their hands to be bound behinde their backs, and to be brought by such as were privy to their Confederacy. When they came in *Bessus* presence, he beheld them with a full countenance, and rose up to have struck at them: But then they left their counterfiting, and straightways inclosing *Bessus* about, bound him; he strugling in vain; and pulled the Diadem from his Head, tearing the Garments from his Back, which sometimes belonged to his Prince whom he had slain.

When he saw himself in this condition, he confessed, that the gods had righteously revenged his Treason; and perceived by the Plague they sent him, that they both favoured *Darius*, and were

friends to *Alexander*, whose Enemies evermore preferred his Victory. It is uncertain whether the multitude would have assisted *Bessus* or not, but that *Spitimenes* had given forth, that it was done by *Alexanders* appointment; whereby he put them into a fear, being yet doubtful of minde, and set *Bessus* upon an horse, on the which he brought him unto *Alexander*, who in the mean season had chosen out 900, such as by reason of their Age were not meet for the Wars, and gave to every Horseman two Talents, and to every Footman three thousand Deniers. That done, he dispatched them home, and gave thanks unto the rest, because they promised to tarry with him until he had brought his Wars to an end.

Bessus was presented unto him at a little Town, whereof the Inhabitants are called *Branchidans*, who in times past, by the Commandment of *Xerxes*, when he came out of *Greece*, were brought from *Miletum*, and placed there, because that in his favour they had violated a Temple called *Didyma*. They had not altogether forgotten their Country Customs, but had mixed their tongue, which by little and little degenerated from their own Language, and had not yet attained fully that Country-speech. They received the King with great joy, yeilding themselves and their City unto his will: Whereupon he called to him the *Milesians* that served him in his Wars (who bare an ancient hatred against this Generation of the *Branchidans*) and left it to them to determine, whether they would save them for the Country sake, or else destroy them for the injury they had done them in times past.

past. But when the *Mileſians* could not agree in Opinion, he said he would order the matter himself.

The next day, when the *Brāndibians* came to meet him, he returned them all again into the City, and commanded the Footmen to inclose the City round, and entred with such as he had appointed for that purpose; and by a token given, he put all to the Sword, and razed the City as a Receptacle of Traytors, they being without Armour in every place: Neither the Affinity of their Tongue, nor any prayer or intercession could mitigate their Enemies cruelty, who after the destruction of the Town, did cast down the Walls to the ground, so that no memory of them doth remain. That done, they did not only cut down the Woods, wherein they used their Sacrifice, but also plucked up the Trees by the Roots, that the ground might be left barren and desolate. If the same things had been done against the very Offenders, the revenge might have been thought righteous: But to lay the fault of the Predecessors upon their Posterity, it is judged as a cruel act, being there were not any of them then present, that had ever seen *Miletum*, or done to *Xerxes* any kinde of pleasure. As *Alexander* removed from thence, towards the River of *Tanais*, *Bessus* was brought before him, spoiled of all his Garments, whom *Spitamenes* led in a Chain put about his Neck; a pleant sight to behold, as well to the Barbarous, as to the *Macedons*. When *Spitamenes* was come with him into *Alexanders* presence, he said:

I have brought here unto you the Killer of his own Master, after the same manner that he himself gave the example; wherein I have both revenged Darius that

was my King, and you also that now have gained the Sovereignty. Let Darius open his eyes, and rise from Death, to behold this sight, who was unworthy of such an end, and worthy to behold and receive such a Spectacle as this.

After Alexander had given Spitamenes thanks, he turned himself unto Jesus, and said :

What beastly fury moved thee to take thine own Prince Prisoner, and afterwards to kill him, having so well deserved of thee? Of which thy doings, thou shalt receive a sufficient reward, by usurping the counterfeit Name of a King.

He had no heart to make answer, or to excuse his offence, saying that he said : *He took upon him to be a King, because he might deliver him the possession of the Country; which thing if he had omitted, some other, he said, would have taken it in hand.* Then Alexander called for Oxatres, Darius Brother, whom he had placed about his person, and committed Jesus to his keeping, to the intent he should cut off his Ears and Nose, and hang him upon a Cross, causing his own men to shoot him through with Arrows, and so preserve his body that Birds should not touch him. *Oxatres promised to perform all the rest, saving the keeping away the Birds;* which for the desire he had to set forth Catenes cunning, he affirmed that none could so well keep them away as he, who did shoot so assuredly, that he could strike the Birds flying in the Air : And though it was a cunning not so much to be marvelled at in a Nation so expert in shooting, yet it was greatly admired by such as did behold him, and it was great honour unto the doer. He gave rewards unto such as were the

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Apprehenders of *Bessus*; but he deferred his punishment, because he minded to put him to death in the same place where he slew *Darius*.

In the mean season, the *Macedons* going a foraging without order, were overthrown by the Enemies that came running down the next Mountains: They took more then they did kill; and driving their prisoners before them, retired again unto the Mountains. There were of them to the number of twenty thousand, who accustomed to live by Theft, using Slings and Bows in their Fight, whom while *Alexander* did besiege, and in a Skirmish pressed upon the foremost, he was stricken with an Arrow in the midst of his Leg, where the Head did stick fast. The *Macedons* that were sorrowful and amazed for their Kings hurt, carried him into his Tent, of whose departure out of the Field his Enemies were not ignorant, for they might behold all things from the Mountains. The next day they sent Embassadors to *Alexander*, whom he admitted to his presence, and unfolding his wounds (whereby he thought to dissemble the greatness thereof) he shewed his Leg unto them: When they were commanded to sit down, they said, *That bearing of his burt, they were as sorrowful for it as his own Subjects, which should well be known; for if they could finde out the person that did the deed, he should be delivered into his hands: They could not (they laid) but judge them sacrilegious persons, who would fight with gods, of whose number they supposed him to be; and therefore were determined to yield themselves.* Thereupon he gave them assurance, and receiving again his men that were taken prisoners, he admitted them to be his Subjects.

That done, he removed his Camp, and was carried in a Litter, for the bearing whereof, the Horsemen and Footmen contended together; the Horsemen alledged it to be their Office, because the King used to fight amongst them; and the Footmen alledged, that in as much as they used to carry the wounded Souldiers, they thought no reason their Office should be taken from them, chiefly when the King should be carried. *Alexander* therefore in so great contention of both parties, thought it a difficult matter for him to give sentence, because the judgment should be grievous to them that should be put by their Office; and therefore ordered that they should carry him by course.

From thence, the fourth day, he came unto a City called *Maracanda*, the Walls whereof were three-score and ten furlongs about, but the Castle was without any Wall: He set a Garrison in the City, and then burned and destroyed the Country thereabouts. Embassadours came unto him thither from those *Scythians* which are called *Avians*, who had been free since the time that *Cyrus* was among them, but yet they shewed themselves then ready to be at his Commandment: They were known to be the most righteous people of all the barbarous Nations, as men that never used to make War, but when they were provoked; whose moderation and temperance in using of their liberty, made the Inferiours equal unto the Superiours,

Alexander received them gently, and sent *Pendax*, a Friend of his, to those *Scythians* that inhabited within *Europe*, to forbid them to pass the River of *Tanais* without his appointment: He had also

also a secret Commission to view the scituacion of that Country, and to visit those *Scythians* that inhabited about *Bosphorus*. He willed him besides, to chuse out a place upon the brink of *Tanais*, where he might build a City, to remain as a Fortress, for the subduing of the people that he intended to visit.

But this designe was delayed by the Rebellion of the *Sogdians*, who had also drawn the *Bacrians* to their part. There were of them seven thousand Horsemen, whose Authority the rest followed: For the subduing of whom, *Alexander* caused *Spitamenes* and *Catones* (the Betrayers of *Bessus*) to be sent for, thinking by their means to bring the Country again to his obedience, and to suppress those who had made this stir: But they who were judged meet to stay the Rebellion, and were sent for to that intent, were the chief Authors of that Rebellion; for they caused it to be noised abroad, that *Alexander* had sent for the *Bacrian* Horsemen of purpose to destroy them all; which Commission (they said) being appointed to them, they would not execute, because they thought it too foul an act to commit against their Countrymen; and for that cause they could as ill bear *Alexanders* cruelty then, as in times past *Bessus* Treason.

By this means, when the fear of death was put into their heads, they were easily stirred to Arms, to which before they were sufficiently inclined of their own mindes. When *Alexander* was adyertised of their doings, he willed *Craterus* to besiege *Cyropolis*, and he himself won another City of

of that Country, by an assault that he gave to it on all parts at once; and by a signe given, caused all the Children to be put to death, making the rest a prey for the Souldiers: This done, the City was razed to the ground, to the intent, that others by their example might be kept in obedience. There were a valiant people, called *Memacenans*, who were determined to abide the Siege, not only for their honesties sake, but also for that they thought it most for their Surety: For the mitigating of their wilfulness, the King sent unto them fifty Horsemen, to declare his Clemency towards such as submitted themselves, and how inexorable he was unto such as he overcome by force: Their answer was, *That they neither doubted the Kings Promise, nor his Power*: But after their answer given, they lodged them without the walls; where entertaining them with great Chear until it was mid-night, they set upon them, and slew them all.

Alexander was no less moved with this Act, then the cause required: He therefore made an assault upon the City on all parts at once; which he found furnished in such wise, that he could not take it at the first attempt: Wherefore he appointed *Meleager* and *Perdix* unto the Siege thereof; who then were besieging of *Cyropolis*, minding to spare the same, because it was builded by *Cyrus*; for he had not so great admiration of any King that had Reigned in those parts, as of him and *Semiramis*, whose magnanimity of minde, and great achievements, seemed to him to exceed the rest: But the obstinate wilfulness of the Inhabitants stirred up his wrath; for when he had taken the City, he willed the

the *Macedons* to spoil it, who had enough cause to be moved against them ; and so returned to *Meleager* and *Perdiccas*. There was not one City that did more valiantly abide the Siege, then the same did ; for both the hardiest of the Souldiers that were slain, and the King was brought in great danger, being struck in the Neck with a stone, so that his sight failed him ; and he was felled to the Earth, and for the present lost his sense. The Army lamented, thinking he had been dead : But he was invincible against those things which put other men in most fear ; for without tarrying, he dressed his wound, returning to the Fight : and after anger had stirred up the eagerness he had of Nature, he renewed the assault more fiercely then before. At length a great piece of the Wall was overthrown by a Mine, at which he brake in, and put the whole City to Sack and Ruine. He sent from thence *Menedemus* with 3000 Footmen, and 800 Horsemen, to the City of *Maracanda*, which *Spitamenes* had newly taken, and put out from thence the Garrison of the *Macedons*, the Citizens not consenting to it : But when they saw they could not withstand him, it was of necessity for them to agree to his will.

Alexander, in the mean season, came to the River of *Tanais*, where he inclosed about with a wall so much ground as his Camp did contain, extending in compass 60 furlongs, and named the same City *Alexandria*. This was done with such expedition, that within seventeen days after the walls were raised, the houses also were builded, and the whole work was performed in a very small season, through

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the contention amongst the Souldiers, who should perform his work first, when the same was divided into portions amongst them. The prisoners (whose Ransoms *Alexander* paid to their Takers) were appointed to inhabit this City; the descent of whom, after so long time, are not worn out, such favour hath been shewed them in the memory of *Alexander*. The King of *Scythia*, whose Empire was then beyond the River of *Tanair*, judging that the fortifying upon the Rivers side should be as a Yoke to his Neck, did send his Brother *Carcasis* with a great power of Horsemen to beat down the Fortification, and to remove away the *Macedons* from the waters side: That River divideth the *Bactrians* from the *Scythians* of *Europe*, and is the limit which parteth *Asia* and *Europe* asunder: But the Countries that the *Scythians* do inhabit, do stretch as far as *Tbracia*, and lye betwixt the *North* and the *East*, joyning with *Sarmatia*, and possessing part of it. The Country also that lieth beyond the River of *Istber*, is inhabited by them; their utmost bounds stretching to *Bactria*, and to the furthest bounds of *Asia* Northwards, where are wonderful great Woods, and wilde Desarts: But such of them as bounded near unto *Tanais* and *Bactria*, wanted not much of the civility of other Nations.

This being the first time that *Alexander* had to do with these people, when he saw that he had to enter into a War for the which he was not provided, his Enemies riding up and down in his sight, and he diseased of his wound, especially not having the use of his speech, which failed much by reason of his long abstinence, and the pain in his Neck,

Neck, he called his friends to counsel, and declared unto them, that he was not troubled with any fear of his enemies, but with the iniquity of the time; the *Bactrians* rebelling, and the *Scythians* provoking him, when he was neither able to stand upon the ground, nor strong enough to ride on Horseback, nor yet in case to give advice or exhortation to his men: In consideration therefore of the doubtful danger in which he saw himself involved, he accused the gods; complaining, that he was then inforced to lye still, whose switness before-time none was able to escape.

The danger grew so great, that his own men believed he had counterfeited his fickness for fear: And therefore he, who since the overthrow of *Darius* had left Consultation with the Diviners and Prophets, turned himself again to the vanity and superstition of men, willing *Aristander* (unto whom he was addicted most) that he should try out by Sacrifice what his success should be. The Custom of them who were called *Auspices*, was to consider the Entrails of the Beasts without the King, and to make report of the signification. In the mean season, while they were searching secrets that way, he willed *Ephection*, *Craterus*, *Erigius*, and others of his Friends, to draw near about him, left by straining his voice, he might break out his wound again, and said thus unto them:

The danger I am in, bath caused the time to serve better for mine Enemies, than for me: Necessity, I see, chiefly in the Wars, doth go before Reason; for it is seldom given to men to chuse their own time: The Bactrians are revolted, upon whose Shoulders yet we stand,

stand, purposing to try what courage we are of by our behaviour towards the Scythians. If we leave off with doubtful fortune, and not meddle with them, who of their own minde have provoked us, we shall, at our return, be had in contempt of them whom we intend to visit: But if we shall pass the River of Tanais, and by the destruction of the Scythians, shew our selves invincible every where, who will then doubt but Europe will lye open, and give Obedience to us being Victors? He is deceived, that doth measure by any distance the bounds of glory we intend to pass: There is but one River that letteth us now, for bringing of our Power over into Europe; which if we shall effect, what an estimation shall it be for us, whiles we be subduing of Asia, to set up the Monuments of our Victories, as it were, in a new World, joyning so soon together with one Victory, that which Nature seemeth to have divided with so great a distance? But if we shall stay never so little, and give ground, the Scythians will then come after us, and pursue us in the Rear. Are there no more but we who have passed Rivers? There are many Inventions yet remaining amongst our selves, whereby we have gotten many Victories: But fortune of the War doth teach policy to such as are overcome; we have shewed a President of late, to swim over Rivers upon Bottles; which thing if the Scythians cannot do, the Bactrians shall teach them: It is but the Power of one Nation that now cometh against you; all the others stand yet in a stay, to understand of our doings: So that by eschewing a Battel, we shall nourish War, and be compelled to receive those blows, which lye in us to give to others. The reason of my advice is manifest: But whether the

Macedons

Macedons will suffer me to use my own disposition, I much doubt; because since I received this Wound, I have not ridden on Horseback, nor gone on Foot. If you will follow me, my Friends, I am recovered, I have strength enough to endure these things; and if the end of my life be at hand, wherein can I spend it better?

These words that he spake, were uttered with a broken and weak voice, so that they could scarcely be heard of such as were next him: But when his meaning was perceived, all that were present went about to divert him from so rash an Enterprise: But *Erigius* wrought chiefly in the matter, who perceiving that his Authority could not prevail against the Kings obstinate minde, attempted to work him by Religion, which he judged of greater force: For he declared, that the gods were against his determination, who had signified great peril to ensue, if he passed the River: He said he had understood that thing by *Aristander*, who told him at his coming into the Pavilion, what he had perceived in the Entrails of the Beasts. *Alexander* at these words was wonderfully troubled with anger and shame, when he saw the secrets of that Religion brought to light, which he thought to have kept secret to himself; and therefore caused *Erigius* to go aside, and *Aristander* to be called in unto him, whom he beheld in the face, and said:

I seem to thee rather a private man then a King; I commanded thee to sacrifice, and thou hast declared the signification thereof to others, and not to me: For *Erigius*, by thy report, knoweth the secrecie appertaining to me: But surely, I believe that through his own fear
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he devised an interpretation of himself: Therefore let me hear from thy own mouth what thou hast found in the Entrails, to the intent that thou shalt not deny what thou hast spoken.

Aristander thereupon was amazed, and looked pale, not able to answer one word for fear: But at length, the same fear that made him hold his peace, invited him to speak; and lest the prolonging of the Kings expectation might provoke him unto further wrath, he answered:

I said (quoth he) that there was in the Enterprise great danger and difficulty; but yet that your attempt should not be in vain: there is nothing that I have perceived by my Science, that troubleth me so much as the love I bear to you; for I both consider your infirmity, and what a moment consisteth in your person, fearing you should not be able to endure the things that fortune is disposed to give unto you.

When *Alexander* heard him speak after that manner, he willed him to have confidence in his fidelity, to whom Fortune had granted glory in greater things; and thereupon dismissed him. Afterwards, as the King was debating with such as he consulted with before, by what means he should pass the River, *Aristander* came amongst them, affirming, that he had found the Entrails contrary to what he did before, with as likely signes of good success as any that ever he saw; shewing them then as great causes to rejoice, as he did before to fear. But immediately hereupon *Alexander* received news that much impaired that felicity he was wont to have in all his proceedings: *Menedemus* being sent (as it hath been said before) to besiege *Spitamenes*, the Author

of the *Bacrian* Rebellion, when he understood of his Enemies coming, both in avoiding to be inclosed within the Walls, and trusting besides to take some advantage of the *Macedons*, he laid an ambuscado to intrap them. There was a Wood through the which they should pass, very apt for the purpose, where he laid the *Dabans*, who were accustomed to carry two arm'd men upon one Horse, from whence they used to leap down by course; and because the swiftness of the Footmen was little inferiour to the Horsemen, they troubled greatly the order of the Horsemens fight. *Spitamenes* gave order to them, that when they should enter into the Wood, they should environ them on all sides; which they performed according to his appointment.

Menedemus seeing himself inclosed on all parts, and not equal in number unto his Enemies, resisted a great while, crying out to the Soldiers, that there remained no hope to them, being intrapped after that manner, but, by making slaughter upon their Enemies, to receive the comfort of an honest death. *Menedemus* rode upon a strong Horse, charging oft-times upon his Enemies, whereby he brake their order, and made great slaughter, till such time as he being laid at on all parts, received many wounds, and fainted for want of blood. Then he exhorted *Hippides*, that was one of his Friends, to leap upon his Horse, and escape away; and with that word he swoonded, and fell from his Horse to the ground. *Hippalus* might have got away, but after he had lost his friend, he determined there to die, taking no other care but how to lose his life with

with the ruine of his Enemies. Wherefore he put his Spurs to his Horse, and ran in amongst them, where he fought notably, and at length was slain.

When the rest saw his overthrow, and the los of their Captains, they recovered an Hill, where *Spitamenes* did besiege them, thinking to subdue them for want of Victuals. There were slain in the Battel two Thousand Footmen, and three Hundred Horsemen; which misadventure *Alexander* with great policy kept secret, commanding them that departed from the Field, upon pain of death not to publish this Defeat. But when he could not bear out any longer a countenance contrary to his heart, he went alone to his Pavilion which he had set of purpose upon the Rivers side. There he walked all night, devising with himself what was best to do; and divers times he lifted up his Tent to behold the Fires in his Enemies Camp, thereby to conjecture their number.

When the day appeared, he put on a Corslet, and came forth among the Souldiers, being the first time they had seen him since he received his hurt. They bore such a veneration unto their King, that with his presence only they put away the remembrance of the fear which caused them before to shrink; and rejoiced so heartily, that when they saluted him, the tears distilled from their eyes, and earnestly desired the Fight which they had before refused. He took order there amongst them, that the Horsemen, and such as were of the square Battel of Footmen should be carried over in Boats, and that

that the light armed should swim upon Bottles. The busines required not much more to be spoken, neither could the King say much more by reason of his infirmity; for the Souldiers went about it with such chearfulness of minde, that within three dayes they had finished twelve Thousand Boats. When all things were prepared in readiness for their Passage, there came twenty Embassadors of the *Scythians* riding by the Camp, who required that it might be reported to the King, that they had something in Commission to declare unto him.

When they were received into his Pavilion, and commanded to sit down, they fixed their eyes continually upon the Kings countenance; whereby it was thought, that weighing the greatness of his courage by his personage which they saw present, it appeared unto them but small in respect of the Fame they heard of him. The wits of the *Scythians* are not rude, and without knowledge, as other barbarous Nations are. For it is said, that many of them attain to such Learning, as it is possible for a Nation being always in exercise of the Wars. Their words spoken unto *Alexander* are left in memory; who though they differ from the manner of us, who live in more civil times, and frame our selves to more humanity, yet the fidelity of the matter is not to be despised, though the phrase of their Speech is rough. And therefore I shall declare uncorruptly the words which the Eldest of these Embassadors did speak after this manner.

*If the gods had given thee a Body according to the
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unsatiable desire of the minde, the world should not be able to receive thee, but thou shouldest touch the Orient with one hand, and the Occident with the other; which thing once obtained, thy care should be to become equal to the gods. Thus thou dost covet the thing thou art not able to compass. From Europe thou goest into Asia, and from Asia to Europe. It must come to pass, that if thou doest overcome all mankinde, thou must make war with Woods and Snows, with Rivers and wilde Beasts. What? art thou ignorant that Trees do grow till they are great, and then are plucked up from the root in a moment? He is a fool that coveteth fruit, and considereth not the height of the Tree whereon it groweth. Take heed lest whiles thou dost labour to attain to the top, thou fallest with the Bough which thou doest imbrace. The Lion hath been sometime the food of small Birds, and the Rust doth consume the Iron. There is nothing so sure, that is not in danger of its inferiour. What have we to do with thee? we never touched thy Countrey. Is it not desired by us that live in the waste Woods to be ignorant what thou art, and from whence thou comest? for we can neither be subject to any man, nor do desire to rule over any creature. And because you shall not be ignorant of the state of our Nation, we have certain gifts in proper to us: as the yoke of Oxen, the Plough, the Spear, the Bow, and the Boal, which are the things that we use both with our Friends, and against our Enemies. We give unto Friends of the fruits got with our labours. With the Boal we sacrifice wine unto the gods; with the Bow we strike our Enemies afar off, and with the Spear near at hand. After that sort in times past we overcame the King of Scythia, and afterwards the King of Persia and Media,

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making the way open to us into Egypt. But thou who doest glory, that thou art come to be a persecuter of Thieves, art a robber of all Nations that thou comest amongst. Thou hast taken Lydia, possessed Syria, enjoyed Persia, and hast the Bactrians under thy power. Thou hast visited the Indians, and now stretchest forth thy ravenous bands unto our cattle. Why dost thou covet that wealth which causeth thee to be poor? Thou art the first of all men who with abundance hast prepared hunger for thy self, and the more thou hast, the more greedily dost thou covet the things thou hast not. Doest thou not remember how long thou didst stay about Bactria? And whiles thou didst go about to subdue them the Sogdians began to rebell. Thus War doth grow unto thee out of Victory; for be thou never so great and puissant above any other, yet there are none that can endure to be governed by a stranger. Pass now Tanais, thou shalt perceive what breadth it beareth, and yet thou shalt never overtake the Scythians, whose poverty is swifter than thy Army carrying the spoil of so many Nations. For when thou shalt think us to be afar off, thou shalt see us within thy Camp; with like swiftness we follow and flee away. I hear that our desarts are scorned by the Greek Proverbs, we covet rather desarts and places unhabited then Cities & plentiful Countries. Therefore hold thou thy fortune fast, for she is fickle, and cannot be kept against her will. Follow the counsel that is good, especially when the time doth serve. Put a bridle to thy felicity, and thou shalt govern it the better. We say that fortune is without feet & that she bath only hands and wings: but when she putteth forth her hand, she will not suffer her wings to be touched. If thou art a god, give benefits to mortal men, & take not away the commodities they have already. If thou art a man

consider thine own estate, it is foolishness to remember those things which cause thee to forget thy self. Such as by War thou makest thine enemies, by peace thou mayest make thy friends. The most firm friendship is amongst them that be equal ; and they seem equal, who have not yet made any trial of their Force. Take heed thou takest them not for thy friends, whom thou didst subdue and bring to subjection. There is no friendship between the Lord and the Slave : and in peace the law of Arms is observed. I think not that the Scythians do confirm their friendship with any oath ; for they think they swear in keeping of their faith. The custome of the Greeks is to justifie their doings by calling their gods to witness : but we acknowledge Religion to consist in faith. They that do not their due reverence unto men, deceive the gods. Think not those Friends to be necessary unto thee, of whose good will thou shalt need to doubt. Thou mayest use us as Keepers both of Europe and Asia ; for we should joyn with Baetria, but that Tanais doth divide us : and beyond Tanais our Dominion stretcheth so far as Thracia ; and the Fame is, that Thracia confineth with Macedon. Consider therefore, whether it be necessary for thee or no, to receive us as Friends, or to visit us as Enemies to thy Empires.

These were the Scythians words ; to whom the King made Answer :

That he would both use his own Fortune, and their Counsel that advised him well. He would follow his Fortune (he said,) because he had great confidence in it ; and other mens Counsel because he would do nothing unadvisedly, nor upon the sudden.

Thereupon he dismissed the Embassadors, and embarked

Imbarked his Army in the Boats he had prepared. In the foreparts of the Boats he set such as had Targets, willing them to kneel upon their knees for their more safeguard against the shot of the Arrows. And those were placed behinde them who had the charge of the Engines, being both before and on both tides inclosed with armed men. The rest that stood beyond the Engines, being armed themselves, defended with Targets such as rowed. The same order was also observed in those Boats that carried over the Horsemen. The greater part drew their Horses after them by the reins, swimming at the stern of the Boats; and such as were carried upon trusses filled with straw, were defended by the Boats that rowed betwixt them and their Enemies.

Alexander with such men as he had chosen to be about his Person, first lunched from the Land; and directed his course to the further side. The Scythians came against them with their Horsemen in order of Battel, standing upon the brink of the further shore to oppose their landing: whose shew being a terror to the Macedons, they had also another cause of fear in their passing over: For the Boat-masters were not able to keep their course against the force of the stream. And the Soldiers swaying to and fro, for the doubt they had to fall in the water, troubled the Mariners in the doing of their office. By reason whereof the Macedons could not have scope to cast their Darts with any force; taking more care how to place themselves out of peril, then to annoy their enemies. Their Engines stood them in great stead, which seldom

did shoot in vain against their Enemies that stood thick before them, attempting to resist their landing. When the *Scythians* saw them near the shore, they did shoot an infinite number of Arrows into the Boats, so that there was not almost any Target that had not many heads sticking in it. At length the Boats arrived at the land, then the Target-men did rise upon their feet, and having more scope and surer footing, threw their Darts more certainly and with greater force: whereby perceiving their Enemies to shrink and rein back their Horses, they leaped chearfully unto the land, one exhorting and encouraging another, and vigorously pursued them, when they saw them to fall out of array. By that time *Alexanders* Horsemen who had assembled themselves in Troops, brake upon their Enemies, and put them to great disorder. In the mean season, the rest being defended by them that were fighting, landed, and prepared themselves to the Battel. *Alexander* with the stoutness of his courage supplied the impotency of his body. His voice could not be heard when he spake and exhorted his men (the scar of his wound not yet closed) but all men might see him fighting; wherefore every one used the office of a Captain in giving exhortation unto his fellows, and ran upon their Enemies without respect of their own lives. Then the *Scythians* could not endure any longer the countenance, the force, nor the cry of their Enemies; but being all on Horseback fled away upon the Spur, whom the King pursued eighty Furlongs, notwithstanding that with great pain he endured his infirmity. When his heart fainted, he commanded his men that they should

should follow still in the chase as long as the day lasted ; and having not strength to sustain any further travel , he returned into his Camp to rest himself.

The *Macedons* in their pursuit passed the bounds of *Bacchus*, in monument of whom there were great stones set up of equal distance, and high trees whose stocks were covered over with Ivy. But no bounds could be a stay to the *Macedons*, being carried forwards in their fury ; for it was midnight before they returned again to their Camp, who having killed many, and taken a great number of prisoners, did drive before them a thousand eight hundred Horses. There were slain of the *Macedons*, threescore Horsemen, of the Footmen one hundred, and about one thousand hurt. This enterprise with the fame of the Victory falling in so good a season, kept the greatest part of *Asia* in obedience, which were at the point to have rebelled : For they believed the *Seythians* to be invincible ; who being vanquished, they judged no Nation able to withstand the power of the *Macedons*.

The *Sacans* after this Victory sent their Embassadors unto *Alexander*, offering themselves to come under his obedience ; to the doing whereof, they were not so greatly moved with fear of his Force, as they were with report of his clemency used towards the *Seythians*, after he had discomfited them ; For he delivered home all the prisoners without ransome, to witness unto the world, that he made War with those fierce Nations to shew his power and his vertue, and not for any malice , or to shew his wrath upon them. That was the cause

that

that he so gently received the Embassadors of the *Sacans*, causing *Excipinus* to accompany them, who being in the first flower of his youth, was for that respect in great favour and familiarity with *Alexander*. In personage he resembled *Epbession*, but inferior to him in pleasantness of speech.

After this, *Alexander* giving order to *Craterus* to follow him by small journeys with the greater part of his Army, he himself came to the City of *Mara-canda*, from whence *Spitamenes* who heard of his coming was fled into *Bactria*. The King therefore making great journeys four days continually, came into the place where, under the conduct of *Menedemus*, he had lost two thousand Footmen, and three hundred Horsemen. He caused their bones to be gathered together, celebrating their Funerals after their Country manner. By that time *Craterus* with the *Phalanx* was come to the King; and to the intent he might punish with the Sword all such as had rebelled, he divided his power into divers parts, commanding them to burn in every place where they marched, and to kill all the children.

The Country of the *Sogdians* for the most part is waste, by reason of the great desarts that stretch overthwart the Countrey. The River called *Pritimetus* passeth almost through the length of it, and runneth a space violently in a narrow channel, and then is received into a hole of the Earth; from whence it passeth underneath the ground, the course of it being manifest by the noise of the water that may be heard; and yet on all the ground under which so great a River doth run, there doth not appear any moisture put forth.

Of the Captives that were taken among the Sogdians, there were thirty of the most Noble brought to *Alexander*; who, understanding by an Interpreter, that by the Kings commandment they should be put to Execution, began as men in mirth to sing and dance; and by a certain wanton motion of their bodies, expressed a great joyfulness of the minde. *Alexander* marvelling that they took their death with such stoutness and magnanimity of heart, called them unto him, enquiring why they expressed so great a joy when they had death before their face? They answered, *That if they had been put to death by any, except by such a one as he was, they should have taken their death sorrowfully:* But now seeing they should be restored to their Predecessours by a King that was Conquerour of all Nations, they rejoiced in their honest death, as the thing all men should wish and desire. The King then marvelling at their magnanimity; I enquire of you (quoth he) if you can be content to live, and become Friends to him, by whose benefit you shall receive life? They said, *That as they never were his Enemies, but as they were provoked by occasion of the Wars, even so if he would make an experiment of them rather by a benefit then an injury, they would labour not to be overcome in good will, nor in doing any thing that pertained to their duty.* He asked what pledge they would give of their promise? They answered, *Their Lives they had received should be their Pledges, ready to be yielded again when it was required.* Therto they brake no promise; for such as returned home into their Countreys, kept the people in good obedience:

And

And four of them that were appointed to be of the Kings Guard, gave place to none of the Macedons in love or affection towards their Prince.

When he had ordered all things among the *Sogdians*, he left *Pencolauis* there with three thousand men of War, and removed into *Bactria*; from whence he commanded *Bessus* to be carried to *Ecbatana*, there to suffer death for the killing of *Darius*. About the same time *Ptolomeus* and *Menidas* brought three thousand Footmen, and a thousand Horsemen of mercenary Souldiers; and one *Alexander* came to him out of *Lycia* with three thousand Footmen, and five hundred Horsemen. *Asclepiodorus* had levied the like number out of *Syria*. *Antipater* sent eight thousand Greeks; amongst whom there were five hundred Horsemen. When he had thus recruited his Army, he went about in every place to quiet those stirs that had been raised up by the Rebellion; and having slain them that were the Authors and Beginners thereof, the fourth day he came to the River of *Oxus*, which being a water unwholsome to be drunk (because it is troubled and full of mud) the Macedons fell to digging of Wells; and when by digging deep they could finde no water, a Spring suddenly appeared in the Kings Tent, which, because it was not found at the first, they feigned it to come by miracle. Therewith the King was well pleased, and contented men should believe that the same was sent by the gift of God.

When he had passed the Rivers of *Oebus* and *Oxus*, they came unto a City called *Marginia*, near unto the which he chose out places for the building of six Towns;

Towns ; whereof he planted two towards the South, and four towards the East ; every one distant not far from another, to the intent, that their mutual assistance in time of need should not be far to seek. They were all situate upon high hills, as bridles to keep under those wilde Nations : But now they have forgotten their original, and are subject to those they were wont to rule.

The King having subdued all the Country , one Rock only remained , which *Arimazes* a *Sogdian* had taken with thirty thousand armed men, and furnished the same with Victuals for two years. The same Rock was thirty furlongs in height , and an hundred and fifty in compass , being in all parts steep and broken, having one streight path only to passe up unto it. In the mid way to the top , it had a cave , which was narrow and dark in the entry , but by little and little it waxed wider , and had more lodgings within for a great multitude , and was besides so full of Springs , that when they met together , they ran down the Rock like a great River.

Alexander beholding the strength of this place , and the difficulty to win it , determined to depart from thence : But there entred suddenly into his heart a desire to weary Nature , and to work against her power. Yet before he would attempt the fortune of any Siege , he sent *Cophes* the Son of *Artabasus* , to perswade them to surrender it. *Arimazes* , upon trust of the strength of the place , answered in all things arrogantly , but especially in that he asked if *Alexander* could fly ? Which words being reported to the King , did put

put him in such a fury, that straightways he called for such as he used to consult withal, declaring the pride and presumption of Arimazew, and after what manner he had scorned him. But shortly (he said) he would devise such a Policy, that he would make him think that the Macedons had wings : He commanded therefore that out of the whole Army they should chuse out and bring to him three hundred of the most light young men had been accustomed to drive beasts amongst the Rocks, and streight paths of the Mountains : whereupon they brought such to the King, as both for lightness of body, and hardiness of heart were most meet for that purpose ; unto whom he said :

My Fellows of mine own Age, with you have I won Cities that were counted inexpugnable, and have passed the tops of Mountains covered continually with Snow. With you I have gone through the streights of Cilicia, and have without weariness sustained the violence of the cold, whereby I have experience of you, and you of me. The Rock you see hath but one entry, which our Enemies do observe, the rest they neglect. They keep no Watch but towards our Camp. If you diligently search, you shall find some way to bring you to the top. Nature hath made nothing so high, but that it may be attained to by the industry of man. In putting things in proof, whereof others have despaired, we have gotten Asia into our possession : contrive you the means to get up unto the top, which when you have taken, you shall give a token to me by setting up some white Cloath. You shall see me then come forwards with my power, and turn the

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Enemies from you towards me. He shall have ten Talents for a reward, who doth recover the top first; and he that getteth up next shall have one less; and the like order shall be observed with Ten of the first. I am assured you regard not so much my liberalitie as my favour.

When they had heard the King speak after that manner, they imagined the thing done; and departing out of his presence, they prepared strong Ropes and iron Hooks, which they fastened to the Rocks, and so climbed up. The King brought them about the Rock, whereas it seemed least steep and most plain to mount upon, and in the second Watch willed them to pass forwards with good speed. They being furnished with two days Victuals, and armed only with Swords and Spears, at first went forwards without any great difficulty; but when they came to the steepness of the Rock, some took hold of the broken crags to lift up themselves, and some fastening their Hooks on the Rocks, climbed up by the Ropes: They were compelled to rest and stay divers times, and so consumed that day in travel and fear.

When they had passed many difficult places, further labours appeared, the height of the Rock seeming to grow more and more. When they failed either of their hold or of their footing, it was a miserable thing to see how they fell down headlong, shewing by their mis-fortune, an example to others what was likely to come of them. Notwithstanding at length, through all these difficulties they got up unto the top, where wearied with

with the travel of their continual labour, and some with the hurts and maims they had received, they slept all that night amongst the wild and rough Rocks, unmindful of the peril they were in.

When it was day, they awaked out of their deep sleep, and beholding the valleys underneath them, they were ignorant in what part of the Rock so great a multitude of their Enemies should lie. But at length, when they perceived by the smoke in what place they were, they upon the points of two spears set up the signe that was appointed them, and found that in their coming up they had lost two and thirty. The King being careful not so much for the desire he had to win the Rocks, as to save those whom he had exposed to so manifest a danger, stood all day beholding the top of the Mountain; and when the darkness of the night took away the prospect of the eyes, he departed to refresh his body. The next day before it was full light, he perceived the white Cloth set up on the top of the Rock; but the variety of the Air, the Sun beginning to arise, and yet clouded, caused him to doubt a while whether his sight had failed him or not. But when it was full and open day, it was manifestly apparent, and all doubt was removed. Then he called *Copbes*, by whom he had attempted their mindes before, willing him once again to exhort them to be better advised; and if so be that in the trust of their strength, they would not submit themselves, that then he should shew to them those Souldiers that had taken the Rock over their heads. When *Copbes* came thither, he began to perswade Ari-

mazes to give up his strength, thereby to win the Kings favour; and not inforce *Alexander* to stay in the Siege of a Rock, having so many weighty affairs in hand: But he found him more obstinate and proud then he did before, and willed *Cophes* to depart, and move him no more on that subject. Then he took *Arimazes* by the hand, and required him to go with him out of the Cave: When they were come where they might look about, He shewed him those that were gotten to the top of the Rock; and scorning then his pride, he asked of him, whether *Alexanders* Souldiers had gotten wings or no?

By that time the Trumpets were blown in the *Macedons* Camp, they might hear the Alarm that was made in the Army, which, as many vain and trifling things are wont in the Wars to grow to great effect, so it was the cause that they yeilded themselves; for fear so troubled them, that they could not consider the small number that were over their heads, but called *Cophes* again in great haste, who was departed away, and sent with him unto *Alexander* thirty of the chief men, authorized to yeild up the Rock, with composition to depart in safety.

But *Alexander*, notwithstanding that he doubted left his Enemies discovering the fewness of his men, might put them to distress; yet trusting in the felicity of his own Fortune, and offended with the pride of *Arimazes*, would agree to no condition, but that they should yeild simply. *Arimazes* thereupon despairing more of his state,

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then he had cause , descended down to the Camp with the chiefest of the Nation that were of Kin to him : All whom *Alexander* caused to be scourged with Rods , and then to be crucified at the foot of the Rock . The multitude that yielded , with the money that there was taken , were given in gift to the Inhabitants of the new Cities ; and the Rule of the said Rock was committed unto *Artabasius* , with the Charge of the Country thereabouts .

THE



THE
EIGHTH BOOK
OF
QUINTUS CURTIUS.

Of the Acts of Alexander the Great, King of Macedonia.

Alexander having won this Rock with greater Fame then Glory, because his Enemies remained in no place certain, it was necessary for him to separate his Power; and so he divided his Army into three parts: He gave the Charge of the one part to *Ephestion*, to *Cenon* the other, and took the third part unto himself. His Enemies were not all of one Opinion; for some of them seeing their opposition could not avail, yielded themselves before the Fight; to whom he gave the Cities and the Lands of those that continued still his Enemies.

But the Outlawries of *Bactria*, with eight hundred Horsemen, wasted the Villages of the *Massagetes*: For the redress whereof, *Attinas*, Governour of that Country, went against them with three hundred Horsemen, not knowing that his Enemies lay in wait for him; who planting their Ambushment in a Wood joyning to a great Plain, had appointed

some men to drive Cattel, thereby to draw their Enemies, with the greedines of the prey, within danger of the Ambush. When the Souldiers of Attius saw the Drivers of the Cattel, they pursued them without order; so that when they were passed the Wood, where the Ambushment lay, their Enemies brake out upon them (not fearing any such danger) and slew them every one.

The fame of this Overthrow came immediately to Craterus, who drew thither with the Horsemen: But the *Massagetes* being fled before his coming, he slew a thousand of the *Dabans* that took their part, whereby the Rebellion of all the Country ceased. Thus *Alexander* having subdued the *Sogdians*, returned to *Maracanda*, whither Berdes (whom he had sent to the *Scythians* inhabiting about *Bosphorus*) came to him with Embassadors of that Country. *Phratarus* also, who had the chief Rule of the *Massagetes* and *Dabans* (which Nations were joyned by Affinity together) sent certain Messengers to *Alexander*, offering to be at his Commandment. The *Scythian* Embassadors made request, that *Alexander* would marry their Kings Daughter; and if the Affinity pleased him, that he would suffer the Princes of the *Macedons* to enter into Marriage likewise with the Noble-men's Daughters of their Country, promising that the King should come in person to visit him. He heareth gently both the Embassages, and still continued in that place, till *Epeestion* and *Artabasius* came unto him; and then joyning his Power together, he advanced into the Country that is called *Baxaria*.

There is nothing more esteemed in that Nation, then to have great Doves of wilde Beasts inclos'd in Parks, which are very pleasant, and full of Springs. Those Parks are inclosed in Walls, and Towers builded within them, to be Lodges for the Hunters. There was one Park in that Country, that had remained unhunted, during the time of four mens Ages, into which *Alexander* entered with his whole Army, chasing the wilde Beasts in every quarter. Amongst the rest, there was a Lyon of a vast bulk that came running towards *Alexander*, which when *Lysmachus* (who afterwards was King, standing next to *Alexander*) perceived; he stepped before him, to receive the Lyon with his Hunting Spear: But *Alexander* plucked him back, and willed him to withdraw, saying, *That he was able to kill a Lyon as well as Lysmachus.* For you are to understand, that this *Lysmachus*, on a time hunting in Syria, killed by himself alone an huge Lyon; but yet he was torn to the very bones under the left shoulder, and put in great danger of his life; which being that which *Alexander* meant, he performed with his Sword no less then he promised; for he did not only receive the Lyon, but killed him with one stroke. Thereupon the Fable did rise, how *Alexander* should have cast *Lysmachus* to a Lyon.

But though *Alexander* his chance was good herein, yet the Macedons knew, that by the Custom of his Country, he should not have hunted on Foot without the chiefeſt of his Nobility and Friends about him. He killed within that Park four thousand wilde Beasts, and there did teall his Army, returning afterwards to *Miracanda*.

Artabasus there excusing himself by his Age, that he was unapt for the Rule of that Country, *Alexander* committed the same to *Cleitus*, being the man that defended him with his Target, when he was fighting bare-headed at the River of *Granike*, and there cut off *Khosaceris* hand, that was in a readiness to strike the King: He was an old Souldier to *Philip* his Father, and notable by many feats of War that he had done: *Hellenice*, his Sister, was *Alexanders* Nurse, whom he lov'd no les than his own Mother: For these causes, he committed the strongest part of his Empire to his fidelity. The King that purposed to set forward his journey the next day, made the same night a Solemn Banquet, wherein (being too great a Boaster of himself) when he was hot with Wine, he began to set forth the Acts that he had done, in such sort, that his words offended the ears of such as knew them to be true.

The Ancient Men kept silence, until such time as he began to deface the Acts of *Philip* his Father, vaunting the notable Victory of *Cheronese* to be his own deed, the glory whereof (he said) was taken from him by the malice and enyy of his Father. For he alledged, how in the Mutiny which rose between the *Macedons* and the Greek Souldiers, when *Philip* lay hurt of a wound which he received at a Fray, and thought he could be no otherwise secure, then to counterfeit himself to be dead, he defended his body with his Buckler, and slew them with his own hand, who ran upon his Father to have killed him; which act (he said) his Father never gladly would confess, nor ever could abide to acknowledge

knowledge his safeguard to come by his Son. He also declared, how after the journey he made by himself into Illyria, in writing unto his Father, he did ascribe the Victory unto himself, having overthrown his Enemies when he was away. He said, that in his Opinion it deserved but small commendations to make a journey into Samothracia, when Asia ought to have been spoiled and burnt! Nor he thought no man worthy of praise indeed, but such as do so great Acts, as may exceed all mens credit.

The young men that were present, were glad to hear these words, and such other like; But they were ungrateful to the Ancient, especially for Philip's sake, under whom they had long served. Then Clitus, who likewise was not very sober, turned to such as were beneath him, rehearsing some verses of Euripides, whereof the King might rather hear the found then the words: The effect of them was, *That the Greeks did evil, who in the Monuments of their Victories, did subscribe only the Names of their Kings, who usurped that Glory unto themselves, which other men did win by shedding of their own blood.* Alexander therefore judging his words to have been worse then they were, inquired of such as were next him, what Clitus said: But when they kept silence, Clitus with a louder voice, rehearsed in order Philip's Acts, and the Wars he made in Greece, preferring them before any Acts done since that time: Whereupon there did rise a confusion between the young men and the old. But the King inforcing a patience himself, when he heard Clitus deface his praise, conceived a wonderful wrath

in his minde : Yet it seemed that he would have bridled his passion , if *Clitus* would have made an end of his presumptuous talk . But when he would not cease , he gave occasion to *Alexander* to be further moved .

Clitus then did proceed so far forth , that he durst defend *Parmenio* his case , and preferred the Victory that *Philip* won of the *Athenians* , before the destruction of *Thebes* : And going further and further , not only through drunkenness , but even by a frowardness of a contentious minde , at length he said :

*If we must die for thee , Clitus is not the first ; for they receive greater rewards of thy Victory , that can most shamefully deface thy Fathers memory . The Country of the Sogdians is given unto me , that hath so often rebelled ; and now is not only unsubdued , but such a one as by no means can be brought to subjection : I am placed among those wilde Beasts that be of so uncivil a disposition . But I could passe over things pertaining unto my self , if the Soldiers of *Philip* were not despised ; forgetting , that if the old Atharias had not turned against the young men , when they gave over the fight , we had yet sticke about *Alicarnazus* : How is it then that *Alia* is conquered with these young men ? But I see it is true what your Uncle said in Italy ; He chan-
ced upon Men , and you upon Women .*

There was nothing that *Clitus* spake or did in his rashness , that moved more the King , then the Honourab'e mention made of *Parmenio* : Yet for all that he concealed his grief , and did no more but command him to avoid out of the place , and speake no other words , saying that he said : *If thou talk-*

a little longer, I think thou wilt upbraid me with the saving of his life, whereof in very deed he would often advance himself. But notwithstanding that the King had willed him to depart, yet tarried he still, and would not rise: and therefore such as sat next him, took him by the arms, and led him away, blaming him, and giving him exhortation to use better words. When *Clitus* saw himself drawn forth against his will, anger was added to his drunkenness, and he then declared aloud, *That it was he who with his Breast defended the Kings Back; but now when the good service was past, the very memory of the Benefit was hated:* And therewith he laid to his Charge the death of *Attalus*, and how he mocked the Oracle of *Jupiter*, whom *Alexander* clainmed to be his Father; and said, that he told him better truth then his Father did.

At those words the King was stirred unto so much passion, as he could scarcely have born being sober: But having his senses overcome with drink, he rose suddenly from the Table. His Friends were amazed, and throwing down the Cups for hattis, rose to expect the end of what they saw him go about in so much fury: He took a Spear out of the hand of one of his Guard, and would have stickeen *Clitus*, as yet raging with the intemperance of his tongue; but he was stopped by *Ptolemaus* and *Perdicas*, who took him in their arms, and stayed him for all his striving; and *Lysimachus* and *Leontines* took away the Spear. Then he called out to his Guard for aid, crying out, that he was taken by his next Friends, as *Darius* was of late; and willed the Trumpet to be blown, that the armed men might assable

assemble unto the Court : Then *Perdiccas* and *Ptolemeus* fell down upon their knees , requiring him that he would not persevere in his wrath, which he so suddenly had conceived , but rather respite his displeasure , seeing that he might the next day much better order the business. But his wrath prevailed so much , that his ears were shut up from all counsel , and he ran in a fury amongst his Guard, plucking a Spear out of one of their hands ; which once got , he stood in the Entry through the which they must needs pass that supped with him.

When all the rest were come forth , *Clitus* came forth without light ; and because *Alexander* could not discern him , he asked who he was ? But that was done so terribly , that the cruelty of the act he went about, appeared in his voice. But *Clitus* seeing the King in a fury , had no respect how much he had offended him before , but made answer, that he was *Clitus* , who was coming from the Kings Banquet : With that word he stake him through the body , so that he fell down stark dead , and *Alexander* was all besprinkled with his blood : Go now (quoth he) to Philip, Parmenio, and Attalus. Herein it may be seen , that Nature provided evil in the disposition of man , who, for the most part, cannot consider so well the things to come, as those that be past : For after that *Alexander's* ire was asswaged, and his drunkenness past , weighing advisedly the foulness of the act he had done ; he considered then, that though *Clitus* had used over-much liberty in his talk , yet he ought not to have slain so Noble a Man of War ; yea, and the savor of his

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own life, though he was ashamed to confess it: He saw that he, being a King, had used the detestable Office of an Executioner, in revenging with wicked slaughter the liberty of words, which might have been imputed unto Wine. When he beheld the blood of him, whom a little before he had bidden to his Banquet, to run over all the Entry; and that the Guard were so astonished and amazed, that they stood afar off, and durst not come near; his Solitariness caused his Repentance to be the greater: Then he plucked the Spear out of the dead Corpses, and would have thrust it into his own body, if the Guard had not come, and with great Striving wrung the same out of his hands. That done, they took him up, and carried him into his Lodging, where he fell down flat upon the ground, filling all the Court full of the terrible noise of his lamentation: He tare his Face with his Nails, and required such as were about him, that they would not suffer him to live in such a shame and dishonour. In these requests he consumed the whole night, and caused a diligent search to be made, whether it were the anger of the gods or no, that had caused him to commit so hainous an act. At length it was found, that the yearly Sacrifice, due unto Bacchus, was not celebrated in the fit time: and therefore it appeared manifestly, that it should be the wrath of the gods that had moved him to commit Murther upon eating and drinking. But the greatest thing that increased his sorrow, was the amazement of his friends, when he saw them shrink from him, and that none of them, after that deed, would gladly use such familiar communication as they did before. Then he

perceived

perceived that he should live as a wilde Beast in a Desart, both frightening others, being also afraid himself. The next morning he commanded the Body, bloody as it was, to be brought into his Chamber; which when he saw lying before him, he fell on weeping, and said :

Shall I thus requite my Nurse, whose two Sons were slain for my sake at Miletum, by the killing of her Brother (that was her only Joy) at mine own Board? What refuge shall that wretched Woman have? I was all the comfort that did remain to her, and now she shall never with joy behold me. Shall I, the wicked Killer of my Preservers, return into my Country, when I shall not be able to present my hand unto my Nurse, without the remembrance of her misery and shame?

When he could put no end to these complaints, the Body was taken away, by the appointment of his Friends. After he had stayed three days shut up in his Chamber, sorrowing after this manner, the Squires, and such as had the keeping of his person, seeing him given obstinately to death, brake into his Lodging, and with great pain brought him (though he long withheld their prayers) to take at length some relief and sustenance; and to the intent he should be the less shamed of *Clitus* death, the *Macedons* decreed, that he was lawfully killed; and would not suffer him to be buried, but that the King commanded it.

Having consumed ten days at *Maracanda*, specially to confirm the grief he had conceived at *Clitus* death, he sent *Ephestion*, with part of his Army, into *Bactria*, to provide Victuals against Win-

ref; and committed the same Province unto *Amintas*, which before he had given to *Clitus*. Froth thence he marched into a Country called *Zenippa*, that contineth on the *Scythians*; which being well inhabited, and full of Villages, doth with the plentifulness thereof, not only detain the Inhabitants to dwell there still, but also inviteth strangers to come amongst them. The same was a refuge to the Outlaws of *Bactria*, that still rebelled: But after *Alexanders* coming was known, they were driven forth by the Country-men, and two thousand and two hundred of their Horsemen (which were accustomed to live by Theft and Spoil in time of Peace, made worse not only by the War, but also by despair of forgiveness, and their wilde dispositions) did give an On-set suddenly upon *Amintas*, who was *Darius* Lieutenant. The Battel was long doubtful betwixt them; but finally, they lost seven hundred of their number, whereof three hundred were taken prisoners, and turned their backs to the Victors, not without revenge, for they flew of them fourscore, besides three hundred and fifty that they wounded; and yet notwithstanding, after this second Rebellion, they obtained pardon. When *Alexander* had brought them to his obedience, he came with his whole Army into a Country called *Naura*, the Lord whereof was called *Sisimethres*, who had two Sons by his own Mother, it being lawful there for the Parents to have the Carnal Knowledge of their Children.

The same *Sisimethres*, with 2000 armed men, fortified and kept the Straight at the entry of the Country,

Country, where it was most narrow. The passage was defended both with a River and a Rock, through the which Rock the way was made by force of hands: The light is received in at the Entry, but further inward there is none, but only such as men bring with them. From this Rock there goeth a Vault underneath the ground, that hath issue into the Fields, which is not known but to such as are of the same Country. Though this straight was naturally strong, and defended besides by a strong Power, it withheld not *Alexander* to attempt it, who brought Engines, which they call *Arietes*, to beat down their Fortification; and with Slings, and shot of Arrows, did force his Enemies from the places of their defence.

When he had driven them away, he passed through the Works he had won, and made approach to the Rock; but the Stream that grew out of the force of united waters, falling from the Mountain, was an impediment to him therein: It seemed a wonderful work to fill the Chanel of the River, yet he caused Trees and Stones to be brought to the place. When his Enemies, that never had seen any such thing before, beheld the Work suddenly to rise like a Mountain, they were put into a marvellous fear; by which the King supposing they might have been brought to render it up, sent one *Oxiartes*, of the same Nation, to perswade *Sisimethres* to render the Rock; and in the mean season, to put them in more terror, he caused Towers of Wood to be brought forwards, and did shoot from the Engines with such violence out of the same, that the Enemies forsaking all other strengths, retired into

into the top of the Rock. *Oxiartes* finding *Sismethres* in this fear, perswaded him rather to prove *Alexanders* Benevolence then his Power; and seeing that all Creatures submitted to him, that he alone should not be his hinderance, marching now with his Victorious Army into *India*, whereby he should turn other mens plagues upon his own neck. *Sismethres* would have been contented to follow his advice, but that she who was both his Mother and his Wife affirmed, how she would rather die, then commit her self into any mans hand: and therefore he being ashamed that the love of Liberty should remain more in a Woman, then in him being a Man, he altered his purpose, taking that way which was more honest then sure; and dismissing him that was the Mediator for Peace, he determined utterly to abide the extremity of the Siege. Yet when he had well weighed his Enemies Power, and his own together, he began again to repent him of his Wives Counsel, it being more rash then profitable; and made suit, that *Oxiartes* would return, proffering then to commit himself to the Kings Will, only requiring of *Oxiartes*, that he would not utter his Wives Opinion, for fear lest that he should not obtain her pardon. He sent therefore *Oxiartes* before, and he came after, with his Wife, his Children, and all his Kinsfolk, without tarrying for any assurance promised to him by *Oxiartes*. *Alexander* hearing of their approach, sent his Horsemen before to cause them to stay, and to tarry for his coming: And when he was come to the place where they did abide, he offered Sacrifice to *Minerva* and *Victoria*, restoring unto *Sismethres* his former

former Rule and Authority ; putting him in hope of a greater Country , if he would faithfully continue in his Friendship ; and took his two Sons, presented to him by the Father, to serve him in his Wars.

Alexander left his Footmen to subdue such as had not yet yeilded, and went forwards with his Horse-men into other parts. The way was craggy and difficult, which at first they indured indifferently, but afterwards, when their Horse-hoofs were torn, and they utterly soundred, many were not able to follow , but rode dispersed, and out of order , the weariness of their travel so much overcame shame: The King notwithstanding changed often his Horse, and pursued, without intermission, his Enemies that fled before him; by reason whereof, all the Noble young men that were wont to accompany him, were left behinde , saving only Philip, Lysimachus Brother, who then being in the flower of his youth, and of great likelihood to become an excellent man, followed on Foot the King that did ride on Horseback, by the space of fifty furlongs. *Lysimachus* divers times, for all that, proffered him his Horse, but in no wise he would depart from the King , notwithstanding that he had his Corslet on, and all his Armour.

When the King passed through the Wood where his Enemies lay in Ambushment, he fought notably, and protected the Kings person , fighting with his Enemies : But after they were put to flight, and driven out of the Woods, the greatness of his courage , which had sustained him in the heat of the Fight, fainted with his body ; and being all on sweat,

sweat, he leaned himself to a Tree, which could not so much stay him, but that he fell to the earth ; and being taken up again by the Kings hands , he immediately after did shrink down , and died. The King being sorrowful for his death , received some other intelligence, no less to be lamented ; for before he came to his Camp, he was advertised of the death of *Erigius*, one of the most Noble of his Captains , whose Funerals were celebrated with great Pomp and Ceremonies of Honour.

From thence he determined to go unto the *Dabans* , where he understood that *Spitamenes* was : But Fortune, that never ceased to favour him , did unexpectedly finish that journey of his, as she did many others. *Spitamenes* was inflamed with an excessive love to his Wife, whom he carried with him in all his hazards and adventures : But she that could not well endure flying, nor to change place like an Outlaw , became so weary of travel, that by flattery, and fair means, she inticed her Husband to leave his flight , and go about (seeing he saw no ways to escape) to procure *Alexanders* favour , of whose Clemency (she said) he had seen so great experience. And to move him the more thereto , she brought before him the Children begot betwixt them , making request, that at the least he would take pity on them ; wherein she thought her prayer would be the more effectual, because *Alexander* was so near at hand. But *Spitamenes* conceiving that she did not do this by way of counsel, but of purpose to betray him ; and that she desired to submit her self to *Alexander*, in confidence of her Beauty, drew forth his Sword with an intent to have

killed her, if he had not been withheld by his Brethren. When they would not suffer him to hurt her, he commanded her to avoid his sight, threatening to kill her if she came again into his presence; and to mitigate his love towards her, he consumed that night amongst his Concubines: but his love that was so deeply grounded ceased not, but thereby rather kindled the more toward his Wife: Wherefore he reconciled himself again unto her, making his continual request, that she would not counsel or move him any more on that subject, but be content with such chances as fortune would send him; for he esteemed Death lighter, then to yeild himself. She purged her self of the former perswasion, which appeared to her (she said) to have been good; and though it were out of a womans frailty, yet it proceeded of a faithful meaning; and from thenceforth, she said, she was contented to do as it should please him.

Spitamenes overcome with her counterfeit affection, made a great Feast, and after much eating and drinking, became drowsie, and was carried into his Chamber. When his Wife perceived him to be in a deep sleep, she pulled out a Sword, which she had kept secretly for that purpose, and cut off his head, delivering the same, being sprinkled with bloud, unto her servant that was privy to the fact; and with him only, as she was imbrued with the blood, she came unto the *Macedons* Camp, willing it to be signified to *Alexander*, that there was one come, who had something of importance to communicate unto him: He by and by gave Commandment she should enter; but when he per-

ceived her defiled with blood (thinking that she had come to lament some injury done unto her) he willed her to declare what she would have: She desired that her servant might come in, from underneath whose garment she took *Spitamenes* head, and presented it unto *Alexander*.

The paleness of the face wanting blood, had taken away the knowledge whose face it was; but when the King perceived it to be a mans head, he departed forth of the Tent, and by inquiry understood the matter. This brought him into great perplexity, and he was driven by divers imaginations into sundry opinions; he judged the killing of such a one (being a Fugitive and a Rebel) to be a great benefit unto him, who living might have been a great impediment to his proceedings: But on the other side, considering the horribleness of the deed, that she shou'd kill him by Treason who loved her so intirely, and by whom she had many Children, the violence of the act overcame the thoughts of benefit, and she was commanded to depart the Camp, left the example of such licentiousness might corrupt the manners and civil dispositions of the Greeks.

When the *Dabans* understood of *Spitamenes* death, they brought *Dataphernes* bound, (this was he who was Partner with him in his Conspiracy) and yielded themselves unto *Alexander*. He being delivered from the greatest part of his present fear, determined to revenge the injuries of them who had been misused by the pride and covetousness of his Deputies and Officers: Therefore he committed *Hircania*, with the *Cardons* and *Tapirions*, to

Pritapernes, to whom he gave in Commission, to send Phradates, his Predecessor, to him as a prisoner. Tansor was substituted Ruler of *Caria* in the place of *Arsamus*: *Arsaces* was sent into *Media*, to the intent that *Oxidates* should remove from thence: And *Babylon*, upon the death of *Mazens*, was committed to *Deditamenes*.

When he had ordained these things; the third moneth he drew his Army out of their Winter-lodgings, to go to a Country that was called *Gabara*. The first days journey was quiet, and the next not very tempestuous, yet darker then had been accustomed, but not without some signification of their calamities that were coming: The third day, the Element was full of Lightning; and when the Lightning ceased, it was very dark; the beholding thereof did much amaze the Souldiers, and did put them into a great fear: It thundered, in a manner, continually, and the Lightning fell in strange similitudes, so that the Army stood astonished, and durst neither go forwards, nor remain still in one place. Then there came suddenly a shower of Hail driving like a Tempest, which at the first they defended by the coverture of their Armour; but shortly after their hands were so cold and wet, that they could not hold their Weapons, nor yet devise which way to turn themselves, finding always, where they turned their faces, more violence of the Tempest then before: Every man therefore broke his array, wandering about the Woods; and many that were wearied by fear, rather then by travel, lay down upon the ground, notwithstanding that the force of the Cold had converted the shower into a

Frost.

Frost. The Trees, against which they leaned, were a great safety and help to many: And yet they were not ignorant, when they rested, that they chose themselves a place of death; for when they left to move their bodies, the natural heat left them: but ease was so pleasant to such as were wearied, that they refused not to die in resting themselves. Their affliction was not only vehement for the time, but also continued very long; to the increase whereof, the light, which is a natural comfort unto men (through the darkness of the shower, and the shadow of the Wood) was so taken away, that it appeared as if it had been night.

The King only was able to endure this mischief, who ceased not to go about the Army, drawing the Soldiers together when they were dispersed, lifting them up that lay upon the ground; and to encourage them, he shewed them the Smoak that arose afar off from the Cottages, whither he exhorted them to draw for succour. There was not any thing more effectual to their safety, then that whiles they were ashamed to leave their Prince, whom they saw to endure this mischief, they chafed themselves with their utmost labour: But necessity (which in adverse fortune is of more force then any reason) found out a remedy for this cold: They fell to cutting down the Wood, making every where piles and stacks thereto, and set them on fire: Then a man would have judged that the whole Wood had been on a flaine, for there was scarcely space left betwixt the tires for men to stand: Then their nummed joyns began to be moved with the heat; and

their spirits, which were oppressed by the force of the cold, began to have their free recourse; some recovered the Cottages, which necessity caused them to seek out in the uttermost part of the Wood, and the rest recovered the Camp, which was planted in a moist ground: but by that time the Shower was ceased, the Tempest had consumed one thousand Souldiers, with Varlets and Slaves. It is said, that divers were frozen to death, leaning against Trees, and yet seemed as though they had been living, and speaking together.

It chanced that a common Souldier of the *Macedons*, who had much pain to go and carry his Armour, came at last into the Camp where the King was; who notwithstanding that he was chafing of his own body against the fire, yet he did rise out of his Chair, and pulling off the nummed Souldiers Armour, who was almost past his remembrance, he set him down in his Seat: He a great while knew not where he sat, or who had received him; but at length, when his natural heat came to him, and he perceived it to be his Kings Seat; and the King to be there present, he was afraid; and did start up again. But *Alexander* beheld him in the face, and said;

Perceivest thou not now, my Soldier, with how much better condition thou livest, than the Persians do under their Kings? for it is death to them to sit in the Kings Seat, and the same hath been the safeguard of thy life.

The next day he called his friends, and the Captains of his Army together, promising to restore to them whatsoever they had lost: wherein he performed

formed his promise ; for *Sisimethres* bringing unto him many Beasts of burthen, with 2000 Camels, and a great number of Sheep and Oxen , he distributed all amongst the Souldiers ; wherein he both restored to them their loss , and also delivered them from their hunger. The King gave great thanks unto *Sisimethres* ; and commanding his Souldiers to carry six days Victuals ready dressed , he march ed against the *Sicani*, where he destroyed all their Country ; and of the Booty there taken , he gave thirty thousand sheep in gift to *Sisimethres*. From thence he came unto a Country belonging to a Noble Prince called *Cobortanus*, who subjected himself unto the King , and he again restored his Country to him , exacting nothing of his , but that of his three Sons, he should send two of them to serve him in his Wars : But *Cobortanus* offer d to him all three , and made a feast unto *Alexander*, with such sumptuousnes as belonged to the manner of their Country , therein all the pleasures being shewed that could be devised : Thirty Virgins of the Noble-mens children were brought in before *Alexander* , amongst whom there was *Cobortanus* Daughter, called *Roxane*, who in beauty and excellency of personage, and comeliness of apparel (rare amongst those Nations) excelled all the rest : And notwithstanding that they were all of excellent Beauty with whom she was accompanied , yet she drew all mens eyes towards her , and especially the Kings , who could not well now govern his affections in such prosperity of fortune , it being an infirmity which the frailty of man seldom can avoid.

Thus he who beheld the Wife of *Darius* and her two Daughters (to whom *Roxane* was not comparable) with no other desires then he might have beheld his Mother, was so overcome with the love of a young Virgin, being but of mean Parentage, if she should be compared to the Blood of Kings, that he affirmed it to be a thing necessary for the Establishment of the Empire, for the *Perians* and *Macedons* to marry together, by which only means shame might be taken from the vanquished, and pride from the Conquerours. He also shewed a president, how *Achilles* (from whom he was descended) joyned himself with a Captive: And lest his doings should be counted lasciviousness, he resolved to take her to him by the way of marriage. The Father joyful of this which he looked not for, gladly confirmed the Kings words; who in the heat of his desire, caused Bread to be brought forth, according to the custom of his Country, the same being the most Religious Ceremony of Marriage amongst the *Macedons*: This Bread was cut asunder with a Sword, and each of them made of it a Sacrifice. It is to be thought, that such as established the Customs of that Nation, coveted, by a moderate Diet, to shew to them that were the gatherers of great Riches, with how small a thing they ought to content themselves.

Thus he who was both King of *Asia* and *Europe*, joyned himself in Marriage with a Maid brought in at a Masque, to beget upon a Captive one that should Reign over the Victorious *Macedons*. His friends were ashamed that he should chuse, upon drink,

drink, a Father-in-law among them whom he had lately subdued. But after *Clitus* death, all the liberty and freedom of speech being taken away, they seemed to agree with their countenances, as with the most apt instrument to declare the consent of their mindes.

After this was done, he prepared his journey towards *India*, purposing to visit the Ocean Sea: And because he would leave nothing behinde him that might be an impediment to his expedition, he took order for thirty thousand young men to be levied out of all the Provinces, and to be brought to him armed, minding to use them both as Pledges, and as Souldiers. He sent *Craterus* to pursue *Han-ganes* and *Gateues*, of whom the one was taken, and the other slain. *Polipercon* also subdued the Country that was called *Bubacen*; and having set all things in order, he set his whole imagination upon the War of *India*, which was counted to be a very rich Country, and to abound both with Gold, Pearls, and Precious Stones, things appertaining as much to Voluptuousness as Magnificence; and it was said, that the Souldiers there had their Targets made of Ivory, and of Gold: And therefore lett he who thought himself to excel the rest, should be surpassed in any point, he caused his Souldiers to garnish their Targets with Plates of Silver, and the Horsemen to beautifie their Bridles with Gold and Silver. There were one hundred and twenty thousand armed men that followed *Alexander* in the War.

When all things were ripe for what he long before conceived in his evil-disposed minde, he thought it

time to compass how he might usurp the name and honour of a god , and so willed himself not only to be called , but also to be believed to be the Son of *Jupiter* ; as though his power had been as well to restrain mens thoughts , as their tongues : His intent was , that the *Macedons* should fall prostrate on the ground , and worship him after the same manner that the *Perians* did their Kings ; and to such his desire , there wanted not pernicious flattery , the perpetual poyson of Princes , whose Estates have more often been overcome by flattery , then by any force of Enemies . The *Macedons* were not in blame of this , for none of them suffered gladly their Country Customs to be subverted ; but it was the fault of the *Greeks* , who with their sordid conditions , corrupted the profession of honest Sciences .

There was one *Hagis of Argos* , as evil a Poet as was since *Cherillus* days , and another called *Cleopas Sicilian* , given to flattery , both by his nature , and by the Custom of his Country : These , with some other of the dregs and refuse of their Countries (whom *Alexander* reputed more then any of his Captains and Kinsmen) would make it appear to the world , that Heaven lay open for *Alexander* ; and sticke not openly to pronounce , that both *Hercules* and *Bacchus* , *Castor* and *Pollux* , should all give place to his new godhead . For the bringing of those things to pass , the King commanded , upon a solemn day , a Feast to be prepared with great pomp , inviting thereunto all the great Lords and Gentlemen , both of the *Macedons* and the *Greeks* , with whom when he had sate and eaten a while , he departed out of the Feast .

Then

Then Cleo, as was before-determined, made a Speech in the praise and admiration of the Kings Vertues, rehearsing his exceeding benefits towards them all; which to requite, he said, there was but one way, and that was, if they would acknowledge him a god, whom they knew to be one: For is it a small thing (quoth he) to recompence such great benefits towards you, with the expence of a little Frankincense? He shewed the Persians Custom to be both Religious and Wise, in worshipping their Kings as gods, thinking their defence and safeguard to consist in the Majesty of their Prince. He said, that Hercules and Bacchus were Deified, when they had once overcome the envy of such as lived in their time; and men that come after, do easily believe such things as have been confirmed by their Predecessors. If any of you (quoth he) will stick at this matter, ye shall see me the first, that at the Kings coming in, shall fall down upon the earth, and worship him, which President other men ought to follow, and especially the men of most wisdom, that should always be examples to others in doing their duties towards their Prince.

His Speech tended directly against Calistenes, whose gravity and prompt liberty of speech was hateful to the King; for he thought him the man who only had stayed the Macedons, that else would readily have done him that honour. Hereupon, every mans eyes were fastened on Calistenes, who, after silence made, spake in this manner:

If the King were present (O Cleo) to hear these thy words, it should not be needful now to answer thee's
for

for he himself would make request, that he might not thus swerve into the custom of Strangers; nor would be suffer that thou shouldest deface, and bring into the obloquy and envy of men, with such thy pernicious flattery, his Noble Acts, brought to pass with such courage and good fortunes: But because he is absent, Ifor him will thus answer thee; There is no fruit soon ripe, that will continue long; this I mean by thy divine humours, which whilest thou goest about to give unto the King, thou takest his Honour from him: There is a time required, that men should believe him to be a god; for that gift hath always been given to great men, when they are once dead, by such as came after them: I wish unto the King Immortality after his death, and that his life may be long, and his Estate continual: But Deifying is a thing that sometimes doth follow a man, but it never doth accompany him. Thou didst rebeare examples of the Deifying of Hercules and Bacchus; thinkest thou that they were made gods upon drink, and by the degrces of one dinner? The nature of Alexanders Mortality must be removed from our eyes, before the same can bring him into Heaven. Are not they goodly gods (Cleo) that thou and I can make? Would the King (thynkest thou) be content to receive of us the authority of his godhead? I have a great desire to prove thy power: If thou canst make a god, first make a King; it is much more easie to give an earthly Kingdom, than the possession of heaven. Thinkest thou (Cleo) that the Immortal gods will bear thee without disdain, or suffer those thy wicked counsels to take any effect? They would that we should hold us content with the customs of our Forefathers; and for my part I am not ashamed of my Country, and desire not to learn after what manner I should

should honour my Prince ; for, in my Opinion, we acknowledge him sufficiently to be both King and Conqueror, of whom we receive Laws to live under.

Calisthenes was favourably heard of all men, as the person whom they accounted the recoverer of their Universal Liberty. He did not only in this Speech paint out such flatteries, but also lively expressed the Opinion of the *Macedons*, especially of such as were ancient men, to whom the exchange of old customs were grievous. The King was nothing ignorant of the words that had passed between them ; for he stood behind a partition of the Hall, and heard all the discourse : He sent word therefore to *Hagis* and *Cleo*, that at his coming in they should move the Strangers only to fall down, and worship him after their Country custom : And after a while, the King, as though he had been about some business of importance, returned again unto the Feasts and then the *Perians* fell down, and worshipped him, after such sort as was appointed : but *Polipercon* that sat above the King at the Board, asked one in scorn, who prostrate touched the ground with his Chin, wherefore he kissed no harder ; with which words he moved *Alexander* to so much anger, being always impatient of it, that he said to *Polipercon*, Is it thou that disdauest to honour me ? Shall I be mocked of thee alone ? *Polipercon* answered, That as it was not seemly that a King should be scorned, so it was not that a Subject should be despised. At which words the King plucked him from the Table, and throwing him down, he said unto him, falling upon the earth ; Lo, hast thou not done that thy self, which before thou didst scorn in another man ? And thereupon he commanded him to custody, and so

so brake up the Feast. *Polipercon* being thus punished, was afterwards pardoned; but *Calistenes*, whose contempt and stubbornness the King had long grudged at, found that the King had more deeply grounded his displeasure, on whom there chanced shortly after an apt occasion for revenge: It was a Custom (as it hath been said before) amongst the Noble-men of *Macedon*, to put their Sons, when they were past their Childhood, in service to the King, as Pages, to do necessary business about his person: Their usage was to watch nightly by course, at the Chamber-door, where the King lay: The Concubines were by them brought in at another door, where the Guard watched: They likewise received the Horses of the Grooms of the Stable, and brought them to the King when he mounted: They always were about the King, both in Hunting, and in Battel; and were brought up in the Studies of Liberal Sciences: The chiefest honour was given unto them, because they did sit and eat with the King: None had power to correct them with stripes, but only the King himself. This company was like a store or Seminary, from whence all the Captains and Governours of the *Macedons* did proceed. From thence came their latter Kings, whose Lineage the power of the *Romans* long after did extinguish.

Hermolaus, one of that number, because he had struck a Bore, (which the King had thought to have struck himself) was by his Commandment beaten and scourged with Rods: which rebuke he took most grievously, and complained to *Sosistratus* his friend, who was one of the same company: he seeing

ing the body torn whereunto he had so great affection, and peradventure for some other causes offended also with the King before, so excited *Hermolans* (who was provoked sufficiently already) that each gave Faith to other to finde a way to destroy the King: Which they undertook not with any Childish proceeding, but wisely agreed to bring *Nicostratus*, *Antipater*, *Asclepiodorus*, and *Philetas*, into the fellowship of their Conspiracy: And afterwards they joyned them unto *Anticles*, *Elaptonius*, and *Ephimanes*. But the way how to perform this purpose seemed very difficult, because it behoved that all of them should watch together: And it was the custom, that according to their courses, some watched one night, and some another; for if any other should happen amongst them, who were not privy to the Conspiracy, the same might be a let to the whole Enterprise: Therefore about changing the course of their Watch, and in other preparation for the execution of their Conspiracy, there passed two and thirty days.

At length the night came, when the whole number of the Conspirators should watch together, who rejoiced greatly among themselves, that each had kept Faith to other, whereof so many days silence had given good proof: during which time, neither fear nor hope had altered any of their mindes, so great was the displeasure they had conceived against the King, or else the fidelity they bore to one another. They were standing at the door where the King did sup, to the intent, that at his rising from the Banquet, they might bring him to his Chamber: But *Alexanders* fortune, and the pleasantnesse

santness of such as were in his company , moved him to drink largely ; whereby , and by reason of other pastimes and devices , the time was so prolonged , that the Conspirators stood in a marvellous perplexity : For one while they were glad , because they trusted to finde him drunk when they should go about their Enterprise ; and another while they wete in a great agony , lest he should fit till day-light , for then the custom was to relieve the Watch , and others to succeed in their places ; and because their course should not come about again till the seventh night after , they could not be assurred that every one of them would keep the thing secret till that tyme. But when the day began to appear , and *Alexander* was risen from the Banquet , they were so glad to execute their designe , that they were joyful to receive the King : There was a Wotman accustomed to haunt the Court , who being distracted in her minde , and seeming by some inspiration to shew things to come , met *Alexander* , and would in no wise suffer him to pass , but perswaded him by all the means she could devise , to return and fit down again : He said to her in sport , *that the gods gave him good advice* ; and thereupon called back his friends , and fate drinking till it was two hours within day ; by which time another company had relieved the Watch , and were standing before the Kings Chamber-door ; yet for all that , the Conspirators remained there still , after the time of their Watch expired ; So velerment is the hope which mens minds conceive , when they be drowned in the desire of great Atchievements .

The King spake more gently to them then he

was

was accustomed, and willed them to go to rest, because they had watched all the night before : and moreover he gave unto every one of them for a reward 50 Sestercies, with commendation that they continued their watch longer than their time. Being thus deceived of the great hope they were in, they departed to their Lodgings, in expectation of the night when their course should come again. But *Epimenes*, who either by the gentleness of the King shewed him amongst the rest, or else that he thought the providence of God had withstood their purpose, suddenly changed his minde, and opened the conspiracy to his brother *Eurilochus*, who was not privy to it before.

The punishment of *Philotas* was so fresh in every mans memory, that *Eurilochus* laid immediate-
ly hands upon his brother, and brought him into the Court. He called to the Watch, and told them, he brought news pertaining to the Kings Safeguard ; which thing well appeared, as well by their coming at such a time, as also by their sadness, which was a testimony of their troubled mindes. The Watchmen called up *Ptolomeus* and *Leonatus*, that lay within the Kings Chamber ; who straightway brought them to the King, and wakened him, who by reason of his much drinking lay in a dead sleep. It was long ere he awoke, but by little he came to himself, and asked what the matter was. Then said *Eurilochus*, *Thanked be the gods, that have not utterly determined the ruine of our Family. For though my Brother intended an hainous Act, yet he is come to repentance, by him the mat-*

ter is brought to light. The very same night Treason was conspired against you; the Authors are such as you would scarcely think. And thereupon Epimenes declared all things in order, with the names of the Conspirators.

It is certain that *Calisthenes* was not named as one privy to that Treason; but it was confessed that he gladly gave ear to the discourse of others, when they blamed and spake evil of the Kings proceedings. Some do adde thereunto, that when *Hermolaus* did complain to *Calisthenes* how the King had beaten him, he bad him remember that he was a man. But whether he spake it to take the punishment in patience, or else to stir him to further malice, it remaineth in doubt. When the King was fully awaked, and called to his memory the peril he was in, he gave *Eurilochus* fifty Talents, with the forfeit of a rich mans goods called *Tiridates*, and pardoned his Brother before his pardon was required. He commanded the principals of this Treason to be kept bound, and among them *Calisthenes*; who being taken and brought into the Court, the King slept all the day and the night ensuing, he was so heavy with drinking and watching. The next day he called a great Council, whereat the Father and Kinsfolk of the Conspirators were present, not very well assured of their own safeguard, because that by the law of the *Macedons* all ought to die that were of kin to Traytors. All the Conspirators except *Calisthenes*, by the Kings commandment were brought forth; who immediately confessed the whole Treason they had devised. Then every man present reviled them; and the King

King demanded what he had done to them, that they should conspire his death. When all the other stood still and held their peace, *Hermolaus* answered thus :

We demand this thing of us as though you knew not the matter. We began to kill you, because you began to reign over us as if we were slaves, and not free born.

As he was speaking these words, his Father *Perspolis* called him *Traytor* and *Murtherer* of his Patients, stopping his mouth with his hand, because he should speak no further. Then the King plucked his Father back, and willed *Hermolaus* to speak such things as he had learned of his Master *Calisthenes*. Then *Hermolaus* proceeded.

I will use your benefit, and declare those things which I have learned to the great mischiefe of us all. How small is the number of the Macedons remaining, that have escaped your cruelty? Attalus, Philotas, Parmenio, Lincettes, Alexander, and Clitus, are now dead: but to our Enemies behoof they be alive. They stood in the Fight, and defended you with their Swords, receiving wounds for your glory and victory, which now are very well rewarded. The one besprinkled your Table with his blood, and the other could not be suffered to die an ordinary death. Thus the Captains of your people are tormented and put to death; a pleasant spectacle to the Persians, of whom they were Conquerours. Parmenio, by whom you slew your Enemy Attalus, was put to death without judgement. Thus use you the hands of us wretches, as instruments to kill one another; and such as even now were to be your Tormentors, straightways you command to be tormented by others.

At those words, the multitude began to shout against *Hermolaus*, and his father drew his sword to have slain him, if he had not been hindred by the King, who commanded *Hermolaus* to speak, requiring the rest to hear him plead for himself, who (he said) enforced the cause of his own punishment. At length with great labour they held their peace, and then *Hermolaus* began again.

How liberal is he to suffer boys to speak, when the voice of Calisthenes is shut up in prison, because he alone is able to declare himself? and why? because he feareth the free speech of an innocent, and cannot endure to behold his face, and yet I will justify he is not privy to this matter. But others that are here present, who contrived with me a noble Enterprise, of whom there is not any that can accuse Calisthenes of consent; and yet our so patient and so righteous a King, hath determined here his death. These be the rewards of the Macedons, whose bloud is disesteemed as of no value. He hath 30000 Mules carrying spoil and treasure, and yet the poor Soldiers carry nothing with them but unrewarded scars and wounds; all which things we did easily suffer before he did betray us to the Barbarians, and by a new trade of conquest made us his own Soldiers Slaves. He alloweth the apparel and discipline of the Persians, and despiseth the manners of his own Countrey: and therefore we determined to kill him, not as King of Macedon, but as King of Persia, and as a turn-coat to be persecuted by the law of arms. He would have the Macedons kneel to him, and worship him as a god. He refused Philip for his Father; and if any god had been before Jupiter, he would have refused him likewise. Do you marvel if freemen cannot bear this his pride?

What

What can we hope for at his hands, seeing we must either die as innocents, or else (what is worse than death) live and remain in bondage as slaves? He is greatly in my debt, if by this proof he could amend, for he may learn of me the thing that free hearts cannot endure. Spare them whose age shall be sufficiently tormented with the loss of their children: but upon ~~us~~ cause execution to be done, to the intent we may obtain by our own death the liberty which we sought for by thine.

When Hermolaus had spoken these words, the King answered after this manner:

How false these things are, which he hath learned of his Instructor, my patience doth d clare. For notwithstanding he before confessed this Treason, yet my minde was that you should hear what he could say, knowing ver-ry well, that when I give liberty to this Villain to speak, that he would use the same rage & fury in his discourse, which before mov'd him to have kill'd me whom he ought to have loved as his father. Of late when he used a great presumption, I commanded him to be chastised after the custome of our Countrey used by the Kings of Macedon; which chastisement we must grant needful to be done, as the pupils are chastised by their tutors, and wives by their husbands, and servants by their masters. This was all the cruelty I used towards him, which he would have revenged with murder and Treason. But how gentle I am to all that suffer me to use mine own disposition, since you your selves do know it, it were superfluous for me to rehearse. I cannot marvel at all, though punishment of traytors be displeasant to Hermolaus, who is himself so great a traytor: when he commendeth Parmenio and Philotas, it maketh for his own purposes. I pardoned Lyncestes: Alexander being accused by two witnesses,

that he twice conspired Treason against me ; and being again convicted yet deferred his punishment two years, till you your selves required he might have his desert. Touching Attalus, you remember very well how he wrought Treason against me before I was King : And for Clitus, I would be had not moved me to wrath, whose rash tongue speaking the rebuke and shame both of me and you, I suffered longer than he would have done me, speaking the like. The clemency of Kings and Princes consisteth not only in their own disposition, but in theirs also who are under their subjection ; for the rigour of such as are Rulers is mitigated with humility : But when mens mindes are void of reverence, and high and low are confounded all alike, then it is necessary with violence to expel violence. But why do I marvel that he laid cruelty to my charge, that durst object against me covetousness ? I will not call you to witness one by one, lest I should upbraid you with my liberalitie, by making declaration what I have bestowed upon you. Behold the whole Army, who a little while ago had nothing else but this bare Armour, do they not lie in silver Beds ? are not their Tables charged with Plate ? and possess they not whole flocks of Slaves ? They are not able to sustain the spoils of their Enemies.

But it is said the Persians are honoured of me, whom we have conquered. Truly they are so, and yet what greater proof can there be of my moderation, than that I do not reign proudly over such whom I have subdued ? I came into Alia, not utterly to subvert the Nations, nor make the one half of the world desart, but to give the conquered cause not to repine at my Victorie. This is the occasion they gladly fight for you and for your Kingdom spend their blood ; who, if they were proudly used, would

would straight rebel against you. That possession is durable which is kept by violence, but the thanks of a benefit received endureth everlasting. If we purpose to enjoy Asia, and not to make a progress only through it, we must make them partakers of our clemencie, and then their fidelite shall make our Empire stable and perpetual; and truly we have now more then we can well wish or desire. Covetousness is an unsatiable Disease, especially when men desire to fill the vessel that runneth over.

But you will say that I mingle their customes with ours. It is so; And why? Because I see in many Nations many things whitch we need not be ashamed to follow; and so great an Empire as we have got cannot otherwise be aptly governed, except we deliver some things to them, and receive likewise some things back from them again. One thing is to be laughed at, that I should refuse Jupiter for my Father, being so acknowledged by his Oracle, as who saith, the answer of the gods were in my power. He proffered the name of his son unto me, whitch was not a thing unseasonable for the Atchievements I intended. I would wish that the Indians could believe me to be a god; for the success in War standeth much by Fame; and that which is falsely believed, sometime worketh the effect of things that are true. Do you note me given to excess and prodigality, because I garnished your Armor with Gold and Silver? My purpose was to shew to men accustomed to such things, nothing to be more vile then such kinde of metal, and to declare that the Macedons (invincible in other things) could not be overcome with Gold it self. After this manner I shall blinde the eyes of the barbarous, who id are always wont at the first sight to wonder at things, be

they never so base and vile. And in that we shew to make no estimation of it, we shall declare to all men that we are not come for desire of Gold nor Silver, but to subdue the whole world; from which glory thou Traytor wouldest have bereaved me, and betrayed the Macedons (I being slain) to the barbarous Nations. I am exhorted to spare their Parents; Although it was not expedient that they should know what I have determined of them, and to the intent they might die with the greater grief, if they have any care or memory of them; yet long ago I have forborn the custome of putting the innocent Parents and kinsfolks of traytors to death with the offenders; and I now profess to pardon them, and have them all in the same estimation I had before. I know thou wouldest have thy Master Calisthenes brought forth, who only esteemed thee, being of his complexion, because thou desirtest to hear pronounced from his mouth those railing words which even now thou didst vomit out against me: If he had been a Macedon born, I had brought him into the place with thee, a worthy Master of such a Disciple; but being born in another Countrey, he is subject to another law.

When he had spoken these words, he dismissed the Council, and commanded all such as were condemned to be delivered to the Souldiers of their own Regiments; who, because they would declare by some cruelty the love they bare towards their Prince, slew them by all torments. *Calisthenes* also died upon the Rack, innocent of the conspiracy against the Kings person, but a man not pliable to the custom of the Court, and abhorring from the dispolition of Flatterers. There was never any thing that brought the Greeks into a greater indignation against

Alex-

Alexander, then that he not only killed, but caused to be tormented to death, and that without judgement, a man indued with godly Manners, and good Sciences, and one by whom he was perswaded to live, when he purposed to have died for sorrow that he had slain *Clitus*, for which his cruelty repentence followed that came too late. But lest he might nourish idleness, apt for the sowing of seditious rumours, he advanced towards *India*, always more glorious in War than after his Victory.

The whole Country of *India* lieth chiefly towards the East, containing more in length than it doth in bredth. The North parts are full of Mountains and Hills, but all the rest of the land is plain, having many fair Rivers, which running out of the Mount *Caucasus*, do pass pleasantly through the Countrey. *Indus* is more cold than any other of the Rivers, whose water is not unlike the colour of the Sea. But of all the Rivers in the Orient, *Ganges* is most excellent, which running from the South, passeth directly through many great Mountains, until that by the encountring with Rocks, his course is turn'd towards the East, where it is received into the red Sea: The violence of the stream breaketh down his banks, swallowing trees, and much of the ground. In many places the stream is kept in with the rocks on which it beateth; but where the ground is more soft, there the River becometh more large, and maketh many Islands. The greatness of *Ganges* is much increased by the River of *Acesines*, which both meet before they enter into the Sea: at their meeting the water is violently troubled, and whiles the one resisteth the others entry, neither

neither of them seem to give place to other. *Dardnes* is a River of the less Fame, because it runneth in the uttermost bounds of *India*: but yet it bringeth forth Crocodiles as the *Nile* doth; and also Dolphins, with Monsters unknown to other Nations. *Crooked Erimanthus*, with his many turnings and reflexions, is consumed by the Inhabitants with watering their ground; which is the cause that when it draweth near the Sea, it becometh very little, and beareth no name. There are many other Rivers that divide the Countrey; but none of them are so famous as these, because they do not run so far. The North-winde doth blast and annoy those parts most that are next unto the Sea: but those Windes are so broken with the tops of the Mountains, that they cannot endamage the inward parts of the Countrey; wherefore Fruits are very plentiful there, and perfect. But that Region doth so much differ from the ordinary course of time in other parts of the world, that, when other Countries are burned most with the Sun, *India* is covered over with Snow: And when other places are Frozen, the Heat is there most intolerable; and yet there appeareth not any natural cause why it should be so.

The colour of the *Indian* Sea not differing much from the water of other Seas, did take his name of King *Eritbrus*, by reason whereof the ignorant Greeks took opinion that the water of those Seas was red. The Land is very abundant of Flax; whereof the greater part of their Garments are made. The twigs of the Trees are so tender, that they receive the Prints of Letters like wax. The Birds

Birds by teaching, counterfeit the voices of men, There are many Beasts which are not bred among other Nations. Rhinocerots are there bred, but not brought forth. The Elephants of that Countrey are stronger than those that are made tame in Africk, and their highness doth answer to their strength. The water of the Rivers doth carry down Gold, and run mildly without any great fall. The Sea doth cast upon the Shore both Pearls and precious Stones, whereof proceeded the cause of their great Riches; for after their Merchandize was once known to other Nations, the purgings of the Seas were highly esteemed, as the fanie of man would make the price.

The dispositions of the men (as in all other places) are according to the scituacion of the Countries they dwell in. They make their Garments of Linnen Cloth, which cover their bodies down to their feet. They binde Sandals under their feet, and wear Rolls of Linnen about their Heads. Such as are in any Degree, either of Nobility or Riches, have precious Stones hanging at their Ears, and they cover all their Arms with Bracelets and Ornaments of Gold. They use great curiositie in Combing of their Heads, which they cut very seldome. They shave without any form of gravity all parts of their Face, saving their Chin. But the excess of voluptuousnes (which they call magnificence) used by them, doth exceed the vices of all Nations. When their will is to be seen abroad, their servants carry about them Perfuming Pans of Silver, and fill all the ways where they go with sweet Savors: they themselves are born in Litters of Gold hanging with

with pearls, and the Garments they wear are of gold and purple empaled together. The armed men follow their Litter, and such as are of their Guard; among whom are Birds born upon boughs, which they teach always to sing, when they are conversant in earnest matters.

In the Kings Palace are pillars of gold carved about with vines of gold, wherein the Images of those Birds they delight in most, are artificially wrought. The Court is open to all comers. When the Kings do comb and dress their heads, they use to give answer to the Embassadors, and execute justice upon their people. When their Sandals are taken off, their feet are anointed with sweet odours. The greatest travel they take, is when they hunt wilde Beasts inclosed in Parks, which they strike whiles their Concubines are singing and dallying with them: the Arrows they shoot are of two cubits long, which do not the effect of the force they are shot withal, by reason of their weight, which is an impediment to their swiftness, wherein the property of the Arrow chiefly consisteth. In small journeys they use to ride on horseback: but when they are to travel further, they are carried upon Elephants, whose huge bodies are covered all over with gold. And because no vice should be wanting in their corrupt manners, great numbers of Concubines do follow them in golden Litters. The Queens have their companies separate by themselves, who in all excess of voluptuousness are nothing inferiour to the Kings. It belongeth to the women there to dress meat, and they also serve men with wine, whereof there is great plenty among the Indians. When the King hath largely drunk,

and

and is fallen into a sleep, his Concubines use to carry him into his Chamber, calling upon their gods in a Hymn after their Countrey manner.

Who would think that amongst all these vices there were any regard of vertue? there are amongst them a rough kinde of people, whom they call wise men, who count it the most glorious thing to prevent their own death: and they use to burn themselves while they are alive. It is imputed for a great shame to such as either cannot well stir for age, or have not their perfect health, if they prolong their life till their natural death approach: nor is there any honour given to those bodies that die for age. They think the Fires to be defiled, if the bodies be not alive that are burned in them. Such as live in Cities after a civil manner, attain to the most knowledge of the motion of the Stars, and of the prophecy of things to come; nor can they think that any man doth shorten his life, that looketh for death without fear. They esteem those for gods whom they begin once to worship, and especially trees; the violating of which, they forbid upon pain of death. They number fifty days to the month, and notwithstanding limit their years as they do in other places. They note not their times by such course of the Moon, as is commonly used, that is, from the full Moon, but from the first quarter, when she beginneth to be horned; and by counting after the same manner, they make their accounts more uncertain. There are many other things reported of them, with which I thought not necessary to interrupt the order of this History.

As Alexander entred into India, the Princes of the Countrey addressed themselves unto him, submitting themselves, and declaring that he was the third man being begotten of Jupiter that came into their Countrey. They said that *Hercules* and *Bacchus* were not known to them, but only by fame; but they rejoiced that they might behold him present with their eyes. Alexander received them with all the gentleness he could devise, and willed them to accompany him, because he would use them as Guides in his Journey. But when he saw that the whole Nation came not, he sent *Perdicæ* and *Epbestion* with part of his Army before, to subdue such as would not submit themselves; and willed them to go forwards till they came to the River of *Indus*, and there to make Boats, in which he might transport his Army: and because they had to pass many Rivers, the Boats were so devised, that they might be taken asunder and carried in Carts, and afterwards joyned together again. He appointed *Craterus* to follow him with the *Phalanx*, and he with such Horsemen and Footmen as were light armed marched before; and being Encountred on his way, he Fought a small Battel, and drove his Enemies into the next City. When *Craterus* was come (to the intent he might strike terror amongst those people that had not yet proved the Macedons Force) he commanded that when they won the City, they should kill both man, woman, and childe, and burn the same to the ground; but as he was riding about the Walls, he was hurt with an Arrow. Notwithstanding the City was won, and all put to the Sword, the very houses not

not escaping the cruelty of the Conquerours.

After this, he subdued an obscure Nation, and came to a City called *Nisa*. It chanced that whiles they incamped in a Wood before the City, there fell a cold in the night which more afflicted the *Macedons* than ever it had done before in any other place ; against the which they prepared the remedy that was next at hand, and cut down the Wood to make them great fires : the flame whereof took hold of the Sepulchres belonging to the City, which by reason they were made of Cedar, they were soon set on fire, and never left burning till they were all consumed. The fire made both an Alarm in the City, and in the Camp ; for the Citizens thereby judged that their Enemies would make some attempt against them ; and the *Macedons* perceived by the barking of the Dogs, and the noise of the men, that the *Indians* would sally out upon them.

Wherefore *Alexander* issuing out of his Camp in order to Battel, slew such as attempted the Fight. Thereupon, they within the City became of divers opinions ; some were minded to yield, and others thought good to adventure the extremity. When *Alexander* understood of their division, he caused his men to abstain from slaughter, and only to maintain the Siege. At length, they were so wearied with the ditcommodities of the War, that they yielded themselves. They affirmed their original to be from *Bacchus*, who indeed builded their City at the foot of a Mountain called *Meroe* : the quality of which Mountain being reported to *Alexander* by the Inhabitants, he sent Victuals before, and passed

The Mountain grew full of Vines and Ivy, a bounding with Springs that flowed out in every place. The same was also plentiful of many kinds of Apples of most pleasant taste: the ground also brought forth Corn without cultivation. There grew plenty of Lawrel-trees, with many kindes of wilde fruit. I cannot impute it unto any motion of religion, but rather to plenty and wantonness, that caused *Alexander* to repair thither: where, of the Ivy and the Vine-leaves were made Garlands by the Souldiers, who ran up and down the Hills (after a dissolute manner) all the hollows and valleys thereabout rebounding with the voice of so many thousands of men, calling upon *Bacchus*, to whom that place was dedicate: which license and liberty being begun of a few, was spread so suddenly through the whole Army, that the Souldiers scattered abroad without order, lay here and there reposing themselves upon the grass and leaves that they had gathered together, as it had been a time of quiet and most assured peace: which licentiousnes of the Souldiers, rising by chance, *Alexander* did not withstand, but ten days together made Feasts to *Bacchus*, during which time he plentifully banqueted his whole Army. Who can therefore deny, but that greatness of fame and glory, is oftentimes a benefit rather of fortune than of vertue? for their Enemies had no heart to set upon them, whiles they were drowned in this excess of banqueting, drunkennes, and sloth, but were as much afraid of their drunkennes, as if they

they had heard their cry encountering with them in Battel : which felicity preserving them here, did afterwards defend them after the same manner in the middest of their Enemies, returning as it were in triumph from the Ocean Sea, when they wcre given all to feasting and to drunkeiness.

When *Alexander* descended from the Mountain, he went to a Countrey called *Dedala*, which the inhabitants forsook, and fled to the Woods and wilde Mountains ; and therefore he passed from thence into *Acadera*, which he found both burned and abandoned likewise of the inhabitants, whereby of necessity he was compelled to use the War after another manner. For he divided his Army into divers parts, and shewed his power in many places at once. By which means he oppressed them before they could provide for themselves, and subdued them to their utter ruine. *Ptolemy* took most Cities, but *Alexander* won the greatest, and afterwards joynd again his Army together, which he had thus divided. That done, he went forwards and passed a River called *Choſpe*, where he left *Cenon* to besiege a rich City called *Bezira*, and he himself went to *Mazage*, where *Affacanus* being dead, had left the Dominion both of the Countrey and the City to his Mother *Cleophas*. There were three hundred thousand Footmen to defend that City, which was both well fortified and strong of situation, being inclosed upon the East with a swift River, having steep Banks defending the City, that it could not be approached on that side. Upon the South and the West parts, nature (as it were for the once) had planted high Rocks lying

betwixt them, and deep hollows and pits made many hundred years before; where the Rocks ceased, there began a Ditch of wonderful depth and wideness. The Wall wherewith the City was inclosed, was 35 Furlongs in compass, whereof the nether parts were builded of stone, and the upper parts of clay; yet the stones were mixed with the clay, to the intent that the frail substance clinging to the harder, the one should binde the other: and lest the Earth washed upon with the rain might fall all together, there were stanchings of Timber put betwixt to stay the whole work, which covered over with boards, was a way for men to go upon.

Alexander beholding this kinde of fortification was uncertain what to do. For he saw he could not approach to the Walls; but by filling of those Ditches and hollow places; and that he could not otherwise fill them, than by making of a Mount, which was the only way he had to bring his Engines to the Walls; but whiles he was viewing the Town after that manner, he was struck from the wall with an Arrow on the thigh, which he pulled out, and without wrapping of his wound, he called for his horse, and letted not for his hurt to give order for such things as he thought expedient. But at length, when by hanging of his leg, the bloud drew from the wound and waxed cold, whereby his hurt began to pain him, he then said he was called the son of Jupiter, but yet he felt in himself the infirmities of a diseased body. Notwithstanding he would not return into the Camp, before he had viewed what was necessary, and gave order for all things he would have done. After the Souldiers had

had received their orders, by plucking down of Houses without the Town, they got great plenty of stuff to make the Mount withal; and by casting stocks of trees on heaps into the ditches and hollow places, the Mount within nine days was raised up to the top of the walls, and the Towers were planted upon the same; such was the labour and diligence that the Souldiers used in this business. The King before his wound was closed up, took the pīns to see how the Works went forwards; and when he perceived them in such height, he commended the Souldiers for their diligence, and caused things to be brought to the walls; by reason of which, they that defended the walls were sore afflēt with shot: and by reason they had not seen any such kinde of work before, they were wonderfully amazed, especially when they beheld the towers of such bigness to come forwards, and yet could not perceive by what means they were moved; they therefore judged it to be done by the power of the gods. And besides, they could not think it a matter of mans invention, that so great Darts and Spears as came among them, should be shot by Engines. Despairing therefore of the defence of their City, they retired into the Castle; and because they could not be satisfied any manner of way till they had yielded themselves, they sent Embassadors to the King to ask pardon; which being obtained at his hand, the Queen with a great train of Noble women came forth, bearing in their hands cups of gold full of Wine. The Queen presenting her little Son before the Kings feet, not only obtained pardon, but also a restorment to her former dignity. There-

tore some thought that her beauty procured her more favour than his mercy : but this is certain, that the Childe which afterwards she brought forth (whosoever did beget it) was called *Alexander*. From this place *Pelipercon* was sent with a power to a City called *Nora*, where he overthrew in Battel the inhabitants that encountr'd with him, whereby he got the City to his possession.

There were many other Cities obscure of fame which came into *Alexanders* hands, by the abandoning of the inhabitants, who assembled themselves together in arms, and kept a Rock called *Dorini*. The fame was, that *Hercules* had besieged this Rock beforetime in vain, and by reason of an Earth-quake was enforced to depart. When *Alexander* viewed this Rock, and saw how steep it was and unpassable, he became void of counsel, till such time as an old man that knew well the place, came to him with his two sons, offering for a reward to guide his men by a way to the top of the Rock. *Alexander* promised them fourscore Talents; and keeping one of his sons as a pledge, he sent him to perform what he had promised.

Milamus the Kings Secretary was appointed with certain Souldiers light arm'd, to follow the Guide, whose purpose was to deceive the *Indians*, by fetch-ing a compass about the Rock ; but this same Rock was not as the most part of Rocks are, which lying asloap, have ways up unto the top by degrees ; for it stood upright after the fashion of a Butt, being broad beneath, and ever as it grew upward, it grew less and less, till it became sharp in the top ; and it was inclosed on the one side with the River of *Indus*,

having

having high and steep banks, and upon the other side with deep ditches and hollow places, full of water and mud. Wherefore there could be devised no way to win it, except those ditches were first filled. There was a Wood at hand, which the King commanded to be cut down; and causing the boughs to be shred off for the carriage, they filled the hollows with the bare stocks. *Alexander* bare the first tree, and all the Souldiers followed with a courageous shout: for there was no man that would refuse to do that which they saw the King begin, so that within seven days the ditches and hollow places were filled up. Then the King appointed the Agrians and the Archers to go to the Assault, and did chuse thirty young men of such as he judged most apt for the purpose, out of his own Band, appointing *Charus* and one *Alexander* to be their Conductors, and exhorted *Alexander* that the remembrance of his Name might make him hardy.

At the first, because the hazard was so manifest, the King was not determined to adventure his own person; but when the Trumpet blew to the Assault, he was of such a ready courage, that he could not abstain, but making a signe to his Guard that they should follow him, he was the first that set foot upon the Rock. There were few contented to tarry behinde, but many left their array where they stood in order of Battel, and followed the King. The chance of those was miserable whom the running River swallowed in, when they fell down from the Rock: which sight was sorrowful to such as were out of danger, being admonished by the peril of

others, what they ought to fear themselves; here-upon their compassion being turned into fear, they lamented as well themselves, as those whom they saw die before their faces. At length, they advanced so far, that without getting of the Rock they could not retire back again without apparent destruction. For their Enemies rowled down great stones upon them, wherewith they were easily beaten down, by reason the Rock had so slippery and unstable standing. Yet for all that, *Charus* and *Alexander*, who were appointed to the leading of the thirty chosen Souldiers, had gotten to the top of the Rock, and began to fight hand to hand. But there was so many Darts cast at them from afar, that they received more wounds than they could give: wherefore *Alexander* both mindful of his name and of his promise, whiles he fought more eagerly than warily, was inclosed about and slain. Whom when *Charus* saw dead, he ran upon his Enenies; and unmindful of all things, saving of revenge, he slew many with his Pike, and divers with his Sword. But being laid at by so many at once, he fell down dead upon the body of his Friend. The death of these two so hardy young men, and of the rest, moved *Alexander* greatly; yet perceiving no remedy, he caused the Retreat to be scunded. It was greatly for their safeguard, that they retiued by little and little without appearance of any fear. And the *Indians* contented to have repulsed their Enemies, pursued not after them. *Alexander* hereupon was determined to leave off his purpose, seeing he saw no hope how to win the rock: yet he made a countenance as though he meant to continue the Siege
full

still. For he both caused the wayes to be closed up, and made an approach with towers of wood, always putting fresh men in the place of them that were wearied.

When the *Indians* perceived *Alexanders* obsiny, two days and two nights they banqueted continually, and played upon timbrels, after this manner to cause their Enemies to think they had no doubt in the Siege, but trusted certainly to prevail. The third night the noise of the timbrel ceased, and many torches were seeth burning, that the *Indians* had lighted to see which way they might escapp down the Rock in the dark of the night. *Alexander* sent *Balachrus* to discover the Event, who found that the *Indians* were fled, and that the Rock was abandoned. Then a signe was given that the whole army should give a shout together, wherby they did strike such fear amongst their Enemies flying without order, that many of them thinking the *Macedons* at their backs, leaped down the Rocks, and slew themselves; whereof some maimed in their falling, were left behinde their fellows that fled away.

Thus the King being Conquerour of the place rather than of the men, testified notwithstanding, with solemn sacrifice to the gods, a greatness or victory, and set up Altars on the rock to *Minerva* and *Victoria*. And though the Guides that he appointed to his light armed men, performed not so much as they promised; yet their reward was truly given them. And the rule of the Rock, with the Countrey thereabouts, was committed to *Sisocytus*, he himself going forwards with his Army from thence to *Echolima*.

Alexander understanding that certain straits through the which he should pass, were kept by one Erix with twenty thousand armed men, he committed that part of his Army that were heavy laden to Cenon, to be brought on by soft journeys; and going before in person with the Slingers and Archers, he put his Enemies to flight, making the way clear for his Army to pass that followed after. The Indians, whether it were for the hatred they did bear unto their Captain, or else to get the favour of the Conquerour, killed Erix as he fled away, and brought his head and his armour unto Alexander. He considering the foulness of the act, would not honour the doers for their example sake, nor punish them because they served his purpose.

From thence by sixteen encampings he came to that part of the River called Indus, where Ephestion had prepared all things in such sort as he had commission. One Omphis was King of that Countrey, who before had perswaded his Father to submit himself unto Alexander, and immediately upon his Fathers death sent Embassadors unto him to know his pleasure, whether he shold take upon him as a King before his coming, or else live privately in the mean season: And although he was permitted to govern as a King, yet he would not use the authority granted him until the King came. He had caused Ephestion to be received in the best sort he could devise, but notwithstanding he had not visited him, because he would not commit his person to any mans fidelity, but to the Kings.

When he understood of Alexanders coming, he went towards him with his whole Power, whose Ele-

Elephants by small distances mixed in Battel amongst his Footmen, shewed afar off like Castles. At the first *Alexander* did not take him a Friend, but as an Enemy; and therefore set his Men in order of Battel, and his Horsemen in wings in readiness to fight. When *Omphis* understood the error of the *Macedons*, he commanded his men to stay, and putting his spurs to his Horse, he rode forwards alone: *Alexander* did the like, not questioning whether he were a Friend or an Enemy; but thought himself secure, either through his own manhood, or the others fidelity. Their meeting, as it appeared by their countenances, was very friendly; but for want of an Interpreter they could not speak together: therefore after they had called one unto them, the *Indian* King declared unto *Alexander*, that the cause he met him with an Army, was to put immediately his whole power into his hands; and tarried not to intreat for any assurance by Messengers, but upon trust only had committed both his Person and his Kingdom to him, whom he knew to make War for the winning of Glory and Fame; and therefore could not fear in him any perfidiousness.

Alexander rejoiced to see his simplicity, and professed him his right hand as a pledge of his promise, and restored unto him again his Kingdom. He presented unto *Alexander* fifty and six Elephants, with many other Beasts of exceeding greatness, and three thousand Bulls, which is a Cattle of great value in those Countries, and much esteemed by Kings. *Alexander* enquired of him, whether he had under his Dominion more Subjects, or Tilers of the ground?

He

He answered, that he was driven of necessity to have more Souldiers, because he was at War with two Kings, whose Kingdoms lay beyond the River of Hydaspis, their names were Abiasares, and Porus, but the authority remained in Porus. He said, that he was prepared and resolved to adventure the hazard of the Battel with such of them as should invade him first. Hereupon Alexander granted unto Omphis both to take upon him the Diadem, and the name of his Father, that was called *Taxiles*; the custom of the Countrey being such, that the Name ever followed the King-dom, whosoever enjoyed it.

When he had received *Alexander* honourably in hospitality three days, the fourth day he declared how much Corn he had delivered to *Ephestion*, and to his Army; presenting to the King, and to all his Friends, Crowns of Gold, and belides of Coined Silver fourscore talents. *Alexander* rejoiced so much in his good will, that he both returned again to him his Gifts, and gave him besides a thousand Talents of the spoil he brought with him, with much Plate of gold and silver, many garments after the Persian manner, and thirty of his own Horses, with the same furniture they did wear when he did ride upon them; which liberality, as it obliged *Omphis*, so it greatly offended the minde of the *Macedons*. For *Meleagen* at Supper when he had well drunk, said, *He was very glad that Alexander had yet found one in India, whom he judged worthy to receive the Gift of a thousand Talents.* The King bearing in minde how much he had repented the slaying of *Cleitus* for the rashness of his tongue, refrained his anger; but yet told him, *That envious men were ever tormentors to themselves.*

The

The next day the Embassadors of King Abiasares came unto *Alexander*, who according to their Commission offered all things unto his will: whereupon assurance being confirmed, they returned again to their Master. *Alexander* therefore thinking that through the greatness of his name, *Porus* might be brought to do the like, sent Cleockares to him to demand tribute, and to summon him to come and do homage, when he should enter the bounds of his Kingdom. *Porus* made answer, *That of those two requests he would perform one, which was, to meet him at the entry of his Kingdom, but that should be in Arms, and with a Power.* *Alexander* therefore being determined to pass the River of *Hydaspis*, Barzantes that had been Author of the Rebellion amongst the Arachofians, was taken, and brought to him bound, with thirty Elephants; an apt. alliance against the Indians, that are wont to put more trust in those beasts than in the trust of their own Nation. Gamaxus, King of a small portion of India, which had confederated with Barzantes, was brought likewise bound unto him. Wherefore committing them both to prison, and the Elephants to *Omphis*, he came unto the River of *Hydaspis*. But *Porus* lay encamped on the further side to hinder his passage, having fourscore and five Elephants of huge strength of body, three hundred Waggons of War, thirty thousand footmen, amongst whom, there were many Archers, whose shafts (as hath been said before) were more heavy than they could wield. *Porus* himself did ride upon an Elephant greater than all the rest; who also being of a big stature, appeared notable in his Armour that was

was garnished with gold and silver, having also a courage equal to the strength of his body, and so great a wisdom as was possible to be found amongst so rude a Nation.

The *Macedons* were not so much afraid with the sight of their Enemies, as they were with the greatness of the River they had to pass, which being four Furlongs in breadth, and so deep that no footing could be found, appeared to them like a great Sea; and yet the largeness thereof nothing mitigated the violence of the stream, but it ran with no less fury than if it had been narrow, appearing by the percussion of the water in many places, to be full of great stones in the bottom.

This River being sufficient to affright them of it self, the sight of the further bank, full of Horse and Men, was an increase to their terror; where the Elephants that had bodies of an unreasonable greatness stood in their sight, being provoked to bray of purpose, to the intent that with their terrible noise they should fill their Enemies ears with fear. Though the *Macedons* were couragious, and their hearts full of good hope, as they who oftentimes had experience of their own acts, yet their Enemies and the River both together, made them wonderfully amazed; for they could not think how to keep a stedfast course to the further shore in so weak and uncertain Boats; nor when they were there, could they see how to arrive with success.

There were many Islands in the middest of the River, into the which both the *Indians* and the *Macedons* did swim, holding their weapons above their heads: There they skirmished together in the

fight

sight of both Kings, who by experience of this small bickering, made trial of the success of the Battle to come.

But amongst the Macedons there were two noble young men, called *Sisimachus* and *Nicanor*, excelling in courage, and in hardy attempts; and through their continual good fortune, had got a resolution to despise all peril. Other young men took them for their Captains, and without any other armour saving their Pikes, swam over into an Island which was full of their Enemies, where through their boldness only, they slew many of them, and so might have returned with glory, if rashness (where it hindeth prosperous success) could ever be content with measure: But while with scorn and pride they tarried for their Enemies, they were suddenly inclosed by such as did swim over the River, and were killed with Darts, which they cast at them from afar. Such as escaped their Enemies, were drowned in depth of water, or eddies of the stream.

This fight put *Porus* in great courage, who saw all their doings from the further shore: And though *Alexander* was long uncertain what way to take, yet at length he deceived his Enemies by this policy. There was an Island in the River greater than the rest, and apt to hide his designe, by reason it was full of Wood, and had a great rampier cast upon that bank which was towards his Enemies, there both his Footmen and Horsemen might stand covered from the sight of the Indians; and the rather to turn their eyes another way from looking towards the Island, he caused *Ptolemy* with a great number of Horsemen to shew themselves against their Enemies far

far off from the Island, and to put the Indians in fear of them, making ever a shew as though they would swim over the River; which thing Ptolomy did many days together, to the intent that Porus should be inforced to remove his Army to that part to withstand him, and thereby brought them out of sight of the Island. Alexander also caused his own Pavilion to be set upon the Rivers side over against his Enemies, and all the pomp that pertained to the state of a King to be set forth within their view, with his Lifeguard standing in sight, the same which was wont to attend his person: Furthermore; Attalus, who was equal with Alexander in years, and like unto him both in face and personage, stood there openly apparelled like the King, that it might appear to Porus, that Alexander was still remaining there, and went not about to pass the River.

The execution of this designe was first letted by a tempest, whereby afterwards it was furthered, and brought to good effect; fortune ever using to turn her discommodities into good success towards him. For when the Enemies were thus attent to observe Ptolomy who lay upon the river against him, and Alexander with the rest of his Army was busie about the passing of his men into the Island before mentioned, there fell suddenly a great storm, scarcely tolerable to such as lay within their Cabines; which so much afflicted the Souldiers abroad, that they forsook their Boats, and fled again to land. And yet for all this, their builing and noise was not heard of their Enemies, through the vehemency of the shower.

As this Tempest began suddenly , so it suddenly ceased ; but the clouds remained so dark , that there appeared not so much light as the Souldiers might know one another by the face , when they spake together ; which darknes might have feared some other men , considering that they had to row in a River that they knew not , their Enemies (peradventure) waiting for them at their landing , whither they went as blinde men that for glory fought in peril . But *Alexander* used that which put other men in terror , to serve for his desire , and willed that every man (upon a signe given) should enter into their Boats with silence : his Boat was the first that lanched from the shore , towards the further side of his Enemies , *Porus* only keeping his Watch against *Ptolemy* . There was but one Boat that stuck fast by the way upon a Rock , and all the other recovered the land .

Alexander then commanded the Souldiers to prepare their armour and fall into array ; and whilst he was dividing his men , to put them in order of Battel , and to march towards his Enemies , it was reported to *Porus* , that a great number of men of War were come over the River , and landed , which would straightway give him Battel . But he , at the first (according to the fault that is in mans nature through overmuch confidence in himself) believed it not , but thought that *Abiasares* , who was confederate with him , had come to his assistance . Yet when the day appeared , and the truth was manifest , *Porus* put forth a hundred armed Waggons , and four thousand Horsemen , under the leading of *Hagis* his brother , to keep *Alexander* in action .

They

They counted those Waggons their principal Force ; for every one of them carried six men, two Archers, two with Targets, and two that ruled the Horses, which were not unarmed ; but when it came to the Fight, they let their reins loose, and bestowed their Darts among their Enemies. But the use of those Waggons served to small purpose ; for the shower that had fallen more violently than was accustomed, had made the fields wet and slabby, that the Waggonis could not stir, but stuck in the mire, and became immoveable ; whereas *Alexander* being without baggage, or any thing that might be an impediment unto him, fiercely invaded his Enemies.

The *Scythians* and the *Dabans* were the first that gave the onset, and *Perdicas* was appointed with the Horsemen to charge upon the right-hand-Battel of the *Indians*. Then the Battels beginning to joyn on all parts, they that had the charge of the Waggons, counting them their last refuge, let loose the reins, and rushed forward into the midst of the Fight.

The coming of these Waggons appeared to be a matter doubtful and dangerous to both Parties ; for at the first brunt the *Macedons* were born over and overthrown by them ; and when the Waggons came in any rough or miry place, the *Indians* were thrown out of them. For when the Horses that drew them were once galled, and put in fear, they carried the Waggons without government, and tumbled part of them in the mire, and part into the River : a few traversed the fields, and fled for succour unto *Porus*, who seeing his Waggons scattered all over the Fields, and to wander about with their Rulers, he distributed the charge of his Elephants amongst his Friends, and placed

placed his Footmen and Archers behinde them.

He had many that sounded upon Timbrels (being Instruments that the Indians used in the stead of Trumpets) wherewith their Ears were so filled, that the noise of their Enemies little moved them. They did bear also the Image of *Hercules* in the front of their Foot-battel; which was done for an encouragement for them to fight well; and for a note of reproof and scandal to them that should fly from their Standard; for it was loss of life to leave it in the Field: So that the fear they conceived of *Hercules*, who sometimes had been their Enemy, was then turned into a Veneration and Religion.

The sight, both of the Elephants, and *Porus* himself, astonished the *Macedons*, and caused them a while to make a stand; for the beasts being set in order amongst the armed men, shewed afar off like high Towers; and *Porus* himself exceeding the stature of most men, the Elephant whereupon he did ride was an addition unto his height, which excelled so much all the other Elephants, as he himself excelled the rest of men: So that *Alexander* beholding both *Porus* and his power, said, *That at length he had found a Jewel equal unto his heart; for we have to do (quoth he) both with terrible Beasts, and with notable Men of War:* And thereupon he looked towards *Cenon*, and said unto him :

When I with Ptolemy, Perdicas, and Epeestion, shall set upon the left Battel of our Enemies, and you shall see us in the heat of fight, do you then set forwards my right Battel, and freshly assail them when you see them begin to fall out of order. Antigonus, Leonatus, and

Tauron, do you bend against their Main Battel, and set upon the Front: Our Pikes are long and strong, and cannot serve to any better use, then against the Elephants, wherewith they may be thrust through, and such overthrown as are carried upon their backs: The Elephants are but an uncertain force, which use to do most harm unto their own part; for as they use to go against their Enemies so long as they are at command; so when they are once put in fear, they turn against their own men, and shew most rage towards them.

He had not so soon spoken these words, but he put Spurs to his Horse, advancing against his Enemies; and when, according to his appointment, he had given the Charge, *Cenon* with a great Force brake up on the left Battel; and the *Phalanx*, at the same instant, brake in amongst the midst of their Enemies. When *Porus* saw the Horsemen give the Charge, he put forwards his Elephants to encounter them; but they being slow Beasts, and not apt suddenly to move, were prevented by the swiftness of the Horses: and their Bows stood them not in any great stead, for by reason their Arrows were so long and heavy, they could not nock them on their Bows, except they first staid their Bows upon the ground; and the ground was so slippery, that they could not have any perfect footing; and while they were preparing themselves to shoot, their Enemies were come amongst them.

Then every man fled from the order that *Porus* had given, as it chanceth oftentimes amongst troubled minds, where Fear beareth more rule then the Captains appointment; for in so many parts as their Army was divided, so many Generals became among

among them. Some would joyn all their Battels in one, others would have them divided; some willed to stay, and others to go forwards, and inclose their Enemies about; there was no general consultation amongst them. *Porus* notwithstanding, accompanied with a few, with whom shame prevailed more then fear, assembled such of his Forces together as were dispersed abroad, and advanced against his Enemies, setting his Elephants in the front of the Battel. They put the *Macedons* in fear, troubling, with their unwonted cry, not only the Horse that naturally do fear them, but also amazed the men, and disturbed their order; insomuch, that they who a little before thought themselves Victors, looked about which way to fly and save themselves: which when *Alexander* perceived, he sent against the Elephants the *Agrians* and *Ithracians*, who were men light armed, and more apt to skirmish afar off, then to fight hand to hand. They bravely assaulted the Elephants and their Goverrours, and sore afflicted them with the multitude of their Darts and Arrows that they bestowed amongst them; and the *Phalanx* came constantly forwards against them who were already in fear; but such as pressed over-forward in fighting with the Elephants, procured their manifest destruction; and being trampled to death with their feet, they were an example to others, not to be over-hasty in adventuring themselves: The most terrible fight was, when the Elephants with their long Trunks, called *Proboscis*, took the *Macedous* in their Armour from the ground, and delivered them up to their Governours.

The Battel was prolonged doubtfully till the day

was far spent, the Souldiers sometimes flying from the Elephants, and sometime pursting after them, until that with a certain kinde of crooked weapons, called *Copide* (prepared for the purpose) they cut the Elephants upon the legs: These the *Macedons* had right aptly divided; for not only the fear of death, but also the fear of a new kinde of torment in death, caused them to leave nothing unattempted. Finally, the Elephants wearied with wounds, with their violent strugling, did cast their Gouvernours to the earth, and did tear them in pieces; for they were put in such fear, that they were no more hurtful to their Enemies, but driven out of the Battel like sheep.

Porus being forsaken of the greater part of his men, ceased not to cast Darts, whereof he had plenty prepared upon his Elephant, amongst them that surrounded him, whereby he wounded many; and by reason he lay open to every mans blow, he was laid at on all parts, till he received nine wounds behinde and before, through which he bled so much, that he had no power to cast any more Darts, but for feebleness, they fell out of his hands. The Elephant also which he did ride upon, pricked forwards with fury, made a great disturbance amongst the *Macedons*, until that his Gouvernour seeing the King so faint, that he let fall his Darts, and to be almost past his remembrance, stirred the Beast to fly away, whom *Alexander* followed with all the speed he could: But his Horse being thrust through with many wounds, fell down dead under him; wherefore while he was about to change, and take another, he was cast far behinde.

In the mean season; the Brother of *Taxiles* that was sent by *Alexander* unto *Porus*, began to exhort him that he should not be so obstinate to prove the extremity, but rather yield himself unto the Conquerour: But he, notwithstanding that his strength was almost decayed, and his blood failed; yet stirred up at a known voice, he said, *That he knew him to be the Brother of Taxiles, a Traytor to his King and his Country;* and with that word took a Dart, which by chance was not fallen from him, and threw it so at *Taxiles* Brother, that it passed through the midst of his Breast into his Back; and having shewed this last proof of his Manhood, he fled again more fast then before: But when the Elephant, through many wounds that he had received, fainted in like sort, then he stayed, and turned his Footmen towards his Enemies that pursued him.

By that time *Alexander* was come near unto him; who understanding the obstinacy of *Porus*, willed none to be spared that made resistance; whereupon every man threw their Darts against *Porus*, and the Footmen that stood in his defence, insomuch that at length he was so oppressed, that he began to fall from his Elephant. Then the Indian who was his Gouvernour, thinking that *Porus* desired to have alighted, caused the Beast, after his accustomed manner, to bend towards the earth, who submitting himself, all the rest, as they were taught, bowed down their bodies likewise; which was the cause of *Porus* taking, and of the rest. When *Alexander* saw *Porus* on the ground, he caused him to be spoiled, thinking he had been dead, and

divers ran about him to pull off his Armour and his Vesture ; which thing when the Elephant saw , he began to defend his Master, running upon the Spoilers, and endeavoured to lift him up again upon his back : whereupon , they all setting upon the Elephant , slew him , and laid *Porus* in a Cart ; whom when *Alexander* did behold to lift up his eyes , he being moved with no hatred , but with compassion , said unto him :

What fury posset thee , bearing the Fame of mine Acts , to hazard the Battel with me and my Power , seeing Taxilis was so near an example of the Clemency that I use to such as submit themselves ? To whom he made this answer :

Forasmuch as I am demanded a Question , I will answer as freely as I am spoken unto : Knowing mine own strength , and not having proved thine , I thought no man of greater Power then my self ; but now the success of this Battel hath declared thee to be the Migh-tier : and yet therein I do impute to my self no little felicity , that I have won the second place , and am next unto thee .

He was asked moreover his Opinion , after what manner he thought good the Victory should be used ? Use it (quoth he) after such sort as this day's fortune shall suggest unto thee , wherein there hath been sufficient proof shewed how transitory is the felicity of man .

This Admonishment availed him more then if he had submitted himself , or made suit for his life : For when *Alexander* saw the greatness of his courage , and his heart so void of fear that it could not be broken with any adversity , he was moved not only to give

give him his life, but also honourably to entertain him; for as long as he lay diseased of his wounds, he took no less care for the curing of them, than if he had fought in his quarrel; and when he was once healed (contrary to that which all men looked for) he received him amongst the number of his friends, and enlarged his Kingdom greater then it was before. There was nothing in *Alexanders* nature more perfect, or more constant, then that he would ever have Vertue in admiration, when it was such that it deserved true praise and glory, especially when he saw the same in his Enemy: But when it was found in any of his own men, it was somewhat cross unto him, thinking that their fame might be a destruction to his own greatness, which he ever thought to grow greater, as they were of greatness whom he subdued.



THE
NINTH BOOK
OF
QUINTUS CURTIUS.

*Of the Acts of Alexander the Great, King of Ma-
cedon.*

Alexander rejoicing in this so Noble a Victory, whereby he saw the Confines of the Orient opened unto him, offered up Sacrifice to the Sun; and to cause his Souldiers to be more willing to go forwards in finishing the rest of the Wars, he assembled them together, and (after he had commended their doings) he declared how in the last Battel they had defeated and broken the force of the *Indians* Power, and should finde from thenceforth nothing but a plentiful prey: For he said, that in the Country whereunto he was going, the riches chiefly remained which were so much spoken of throughout the world, in respect whereof the spoils of the *Persians* were but trifles; and that occasion was now given them, not only to fill their own houses, but also *Macedonia* and *Greece* with Pearls, with precious stones, with Gold, and with Ivory. The Souldiers being desirous both of Riches and Glory, because they had never found his

his words vain, promised him to do whatsoever he would have them: Whereupon he dismissed them, full of good hope, and set them about the making of Ships; to the intent, that having overcome all *Asia*, he might visit the Ocean Sea that was in the end of all the world. The Mountains, next at hand, were plentiful of Timber to make Ships withal, in cutting down whereof, the *Macedons* found Serpents of such bigness, as they had not seen before; and also *Rhinocerotes*, Beasts that be seldom found in any other place; which name was given to them by the *Greeks*, for in the *Indian* Language they are otherwise called. *Alexander* builded a City upon either side of the River *Hydaspis*; which once performed, he gave to every one of his Captains a Crown of Gold, and a thousand pieces of Gold besides; preferring and rewarding every one according to their quality, degree and deserving.

Abiasares, who had sent Embassadors unto *Alexander* before the Battel fought with *Porus*, did send Embassadors to him now again, offering to do all things that he would appoint, so that he might preserve his body at liberty; for he desired not to live, except he might remain a King; and he thought himself unfit to Reign, after he had once been a Captive. He returned answer to *Abiasares*, That if his coming should be grievous, he would not stick to visit him in Prison. Having thus vanquished *Porus*, and passed the River of *Hydaspis*, he marched forwards into the inner-parts of *India*, which was a Country full of great Woods, and high Trees, the Air very wholesome and temperate, the shadow of the Trees mitigating the heat of the Sun, and the

the plenty of Springs keeping the ground moist; there were also many Serpents seen, whose Scales glistered like gold: There was nothing more dangerous then the poysen proceeding from them; for immediately upon the stinging, death followed, until such time as the Inhabitants of the Country shewed a remedy. From thence, through Desarts, they came unto the great River *Hidraores*, whereunto there joyned a great Wood, which having such Trees as are not wont to be seen in other places, was also full of wilde Peacocks. *Alexander* removing his Camp from thence, took a Town by assault; and taking Hostages, appointed them to pay Tribute.

After that he came to a great City (builded after the manner of that Country) which was both well walled, and also environed about with a deep Moat: The Inhabitants came forth against *Alexander*, and joyning their Chariots together in a front (wherein their Custom was to fight) they proffered him Battel: Some used Darts, some Spears, and other Pole-axes, and with great agility leaped to and from their Chariots, when either they found an advantage to invade their Enemies, or else would rescue their Fellows that were in distress. This unwonted kinde of fighting put the *Macedons* at the first in a fear, especially being hurt afar off by their Enemies, and not able to come to fight with them hand to hand. But after they had considered their disordered manner, they esteemed not their force, but inclosed their Enemies about, and thrust their horses in with pikes; and the sooner to defeat them, they cut the Traces wherewith the Chariots were tyed,

tyed, to separate them asunder. When they had after that manner lost eight hundred of their men, they fled again into the City, which the next day the *Macedons* did win by assault: Some there were that saved themselves by flying, who seeing the City lost, swam over the water, and filled all the Towns thereabout with fear: They declared of what invincible force their Enemies were, judging them, in respect of their power, rather to be gods then mortal men.

When *Alexander* had gotten that City, he sent *Perdicas*, with a part of his Army, to destroy the Country, and committing another part to *Eumenes* for the subduing of such as would not submit, he, with the rest of his power, came unto a strong City, to which many of the Inhabitants of the Country fled: Notwithstanding that they sent to *Alexander* for peace, yet they prepared nevertheless for the war, by reason of a Sedition which rose amongst them, which made them to be of divers Opinions; some would rather have indured any extremity then yield, and others thought they were not able to make resistance; and whilst they differed so in Opinions, and had no common consultation amongst themselves, such as held Opinion to yield up the City, opened the Gates, and received in their Enemies: And notwithstanding that *Alexander* had just cause of displeasure against the contrary Faction, yet he pardoned them all, and receiving their Hostages, removed towards the next City. When the *Indians*, that stood upon the walls, beheld the Hostages that were brought before the Army, and perceived them to be of the same Nation, they de-

fired

fired communication with them, who declaring both the Kings Clemency and his Force, it did move them to deliver up their City ; whose example the rest of the Cities did follow.

From thence he came into the Kingdom of the *Sophites*, who are a Nation as the *Indians* think most excelling in wisdom, best governed, and who have the most civil Conversations amongst them. The Children that are there begotten, are not nourished and brought up according to the will of their Parents, but by the order of such who have the charge committed unto them to view the state of the Infants : If they perceive any not apt to become active, or else wanting any of their limbs, they cause them straightways to be killed. They use to Marry without respect of Kindred they come of, or greatness of Parentage, making no choice but in the shape of the body, which is the thing only esteemed amongst them. The King himself was in the Chief City of that Country , against which *Alexander* brought his power : The Gates were shut , and no man appeared in Arms upon the walls to make any defence ; wherefore he stood in doubt a great while, whether the City was abandoned , or whether the Inhabitants had kept themselves secret for some policy. While he remained in that expectation, suddenly the Gate was opened, and the King (who in goodliness of person excelled all the rest) came forth with his two Sons : He did wear a garment of gold, and Purple impaled , that covered the Calf of his leg ; the Sandals he did wear on his feet were set with precious stones : All his arms were garnished with Pearls, and he had hanging at his ears two precious stones,

stones, which were excellent both for bigness and brightness: he had in his hand a Scepter of gold, set with precious stones, called *Berilli*, which (after his salutation made) with humble submission he delivered unto *Alexander*, yielding both himself, his Children, and his Kingdom into his hands.

There were in that Country notable Dogs for the hunting of wilde Beasts, but above all, most eager on the Lyon; the King therefore, to shew their force and quality unto *Alexander*, put four of them to a great Lyon, who straightway took hold of him: Then one who was accustomed to that Office, took one of those Dogs by the Leg to pluck him off from the Lyon; and because he would not lose his hold, he cut off his Leg with a Sword; but when the Dog hung nevertheless upon the Lyon, he was cut in sunder by pieces, till such time as he died, having his teeth still fastened in the Lyons flesh; such an eagerness had Nature wrought in those Creatures, as it is committed unto memory. In the compiling of this History, sometimes I am inforced to write things that I can scarcely believe; for I neither dare affirm the things whereof I doubt, nor conceal such things as I have received for truth. *Alexander* leaving this King within his own Kingdom, came unto the River of *Hydaspis*, and there joyned with *Ephestion*, who had subdued the Country thereabouts. One *Phegelas* was King of the next Nation, who commanding his Subjects to continue the tilling of the ground as they were wont to do, met *Alexander* with rich Presents, refusing nothing that was commanded him.

When he had tarried with him two days, and was determined

determined the third day to have passed the River, he found therein great difficulty, by reason that the stream was so large, and full of great stones: He stayed therefore a while to be more fully advertised of the state of those Countries, and of all such things as were necessary for him to know. He understood by *Phegelas*, how beyond that River there lay a Desart of ten days journey, and next to that Desart the River of *Ganges*, which was the greatest River in all the Orient: He declared to him, that beyond *Ganges* there inhabited two Nations, called *Gangaridans* and *Pharasians*, whose King was called *Aggramenes*, who used to come to the Field with twenty thousand Horsemen, two hundred thousand Footmen, two thousand armed Waggons, and three thousand Elephants, which were counted of all to be the greatest terror. These things seemed incredible unto *Alexander*; and therefore he inquired of *Porus*, if the things were true that had been told him. He confirmed *Phegelas* report concerning the force of the Nation, but he said their King was not descended of Noble Blood, but of the basest of men, his Father being a Barber, who with great pain did get his daily bread, until he came in favour with the Queen, who preferred him to the King her Husband, who was afterwards slain by his Treason: Then he, under a pretence to become Tutor unto the Children, usurped the Kingdom to himself, and putting the Children to death, did beget him that was now King, being in hatred and disgrace with the people, as one that followed more the manners of his Fathers former Estate, then such as did besem the Dignity of a Prince.

When

When *Alexander* heard *Porus* affirm this, he was in great trouble of minde, not that he regarded the multitude of his Enemies, or the force of their Elephants, but the greatness of the Rivers, and the scituatiōn of the Country, so difficult to enter. He thought it a hard Enterprise, to seek out Nations so far inhabiting the uttermost bounds of the World : Yet on the other side, the greedines of glory, and the unsatiable desire of Fame, made no place seem too far, nor any Adventure to be over-hard : He doubted also that the *Macedons*, who had passed so many Countries, and were grown old in war, would not be content to follow him over so many Rivers, and against so many difficulties of Nature lying in their way : For he judged, that since they abounded, and were laden so with Spoil, they would rather seek to injoy such things as they had got, then to travel any further to purchase more. He could not think the same desire to be in his Souldiers that was in himself : for he compassed in his minde how to get the Empire of the whole world, into which he had but yet made his entry ; whereas they, weariēd with travel, and thinking to have past all peril, looked to injoy with speed the fruit of all their labour : Yet for all that, his desire at last overcame his Reason ; so that assembling his Army together, he spake unto them after this manner :

I am not ignorant (my Souldiers) how that there are now many rumours spread amongst you by the Indians, purposely to bring you in fear ; but the vanity of their lying is not so new a thing, that it is able any more to deceive you. The Persians, after that manner, would have made the Streights of Cilicia, and the Plains.

Plains of Mesopotamia terrible unto you; yea, and put you in fear of the Rivers of Tygris and Euphrates; and yet we waded over one of them, and passed the other by a Bridge. Fame never reporteth things truly, but maketh them to be greater then indeed they are: Even our Glory, though it be grown to a certain perfection, yet it is more in Fame then in effect. Which of you of late did think that you should have been able to endure the Elephants, strewing afar off like Castles? Who thought I could have passed the River of Hydaspis, when it was reported to be much greater then it was? We should long ago (my Soldiers) have fled out of Asia, if Tales could have caused us to turn our backs. Think you that the Flocks of Elephants to be greater then the Herds of Beasts you have seen in other places, seeing they are so rare in the world, so strange to be taken, and so much difficulty in the making of them tame? The same vanity that hath reported them to you to be of such numbers, hath numbed also the Horsemen and the Footmen of your Adversaries. Concerning the Rivers, the more broad they are, the more gently they do run: for such as are narrow, and of small breadth, are always most violent in their course; where contrariwise, the broad Rivers pass their course more mildly. But you will peradventure say, that all the peril is at the landing, where your Enemies shall wait for your arrival: Whatsoever the River be, the hazard is all one at the shore. But imagine that all these things were true, whether is it the greatness of the Beasts, or the multitude of the men, that putteth you in fear? As concerning the Elephants, we have had experience of them of late, how more violently they rage against their

own party, then against us : Why should we fear them; but only make less the greatness of their bodies with such weapons as we have prepared for the purpose? What matter is it whether they are of the like number that Porus had, or whether they are three thousand; seeing we perceive that when two or three are wounded, the rest begin to fly away? And forasmuch as they cannot well be governed when they are but few, when there are so many thousands together, they must needs be an impediment one to another, and breed a confusion amongst themselves; they are so unwieldy, by reason of their huge bodies, that they be neither apt to pass forwards, nor yet to fly: I have always so little esteemed them, that when I have had plenty of them I would never use them, knowing very well, that they are more dangerous to such as employ them, than to their Enemies. But peradventure it is the multitude of their Horsemen and Footmen that move you: Were you never wont to fight against such numbers? or is it the first time you have encountred with disordered multitudes? The River of Granike is a witness how invincible the power of the Macedons is against any multitude; and so is Cilicia that flowed with the Persians blood, and Arbella, whose Plains are strown with their bones. You too late begin to number the Legions of your Enemies; after that with your Victories you have made Asia a Wilderness: When you passed over the Hellespont, you should then have considered your small numbers: Now the Scythians do follow us, we have aid at hand from the Bactrians, and we supply our power with the Sogdians; yet for all that, it is not these men in whom I put my confidence: I have a regard unto your force; I reserve your manhood about me as a

Pledge and assurance of my atchievements : So long as I stand in the field amongst you, I will neither weigh my self , nor mine Enemies , do you but shew an appearance that there is hope in you, and chearfulness : We are not newly entred into our travels , but have passed all our labours , being come unto the rising of the Sun, and to the Ocean Sea, except our own sloth be our impediment : from thence having subdued the world, we shall return Conquerours into our Country. Do not you as those negligent Husbandmen , that lose their fruit after it is once ripe : The rewards of our journey are greater then our peril : The Country into which we are now marching is rich, and of no force ; thither I purpose to bring you, both to win glory, and to get you spoil ; for worthy are you to carry those riches into your Country , which the Sea doth there so plentifully cast them up upon their shore : You are men of that vertue, as to leave nothing unprovided, nothing undone : I desire and conjure you , by the glory you have gotten , in which you exceed the state of men , and by all that I have deserved of you, and you of me, in which we remain invincible, that you will not forsake me , purposing to visit the end of the world : Me, I say, that have been brought up as a childe amongst you. I will not make mention how I am your King ; in other things I have commanded you , let me now intreat you once in this ; It is I that make this request unto you, who never brought you on, but I put my self foremost in the adventure and danger , and oftentimes with my own Buckler have defended my Army : Take not the Victory out of my hands, by which (if envy be not the let) I shall become both equal in glory to Hercules and Bacchus : Give you assent to mine intercession,

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sign, and at length break your obstinate silence : Where is your shouting become, that was wont to be a Declaration of your chearfulness ? Where are the chearful countenances of my Macedons ? I know not you my Souldiers, and it seems that I am not known of you : I speak , methinks, to your deaf ears in vain, and in vain go about to stir up your unwilling and immovable mindes.

Notwithstanding all these words , they hung down their heads towards the earth, and persevered still in silence : Then he proceeded.

I know not (said he) wherein I have unwittingly offended you, that you will not once vouchsafe to look me in the face : I seem to be solitary , and in a Wilderness ; Is there none of you that I speak unto will answer me ? Is there none at the least who will deny my request ? What is the thing that I require ? even your own glory, and your own profit. Where are they now whom I saw not long ago contending , who should first take up their King when he was wounded, and now you leave me alone , you forsake me , you betray me to mine Enemies : But I will not leave mine enterprise though I go alone ; leave me alone to those Rivers , to those Beasts, and to those Nations, the very names of whom you fear so much. The Scythians and Bactrians shall go with me, who of late were mine Enemies, and who now are my Souldiers ; I had rather die then be a King to be ruled, and at other mens appointment : Go, get you home , go I say , and triumph of the abandoning of your King ; for I will here either obtain the Victory, whereof you have despaired , or else die a death that shall be honourable.

Notwithstanding what he said, there was not one

Souldier that would open his mouth to speak , but stood waiting when some of the Princes and great Captains should declare unto the King , that there remained not in them any obstinate refusal of the Wars, but that they were exhausted with wounds, and so wearied with continual travel, that they were not able to endure any longer. As they stood thus astonished, and afraid in silence, and looking upon the ground , there began first a whispering and a rumour amongst them , and afterwards a lamentation ; and by little and little, they began more manifestly to shew their complaints , the tears falling from their eyes. The Kings anger was then so turned into compassion, that he himself was not able to abstain from tears : At length the whole Assembly bursting out into an excessive weeping, *Cenus* took upon him to press forwards towards the Judgment-Seat where *Alexander* stood, signifying that he had somewhat to say : When the Souldiers saw him pull his Helmet from his head, (for so it was the custom to speak unto the King) they began to require him that he would deliver the cause of the whole Army : Then *Cenus* began on this manner :

May the gods defend us from all wicked thoughts, as I doubt not but that they do; there are none of your Souldiers but are of the same minde towards you; that they have been in times past, if it be your pleasure to command them to go forwards to fight, to hazard themselves, or with their blood to commend your Name unto Posterity. And if you will needs persevere in your Opinion, though we are unarmed, naked, and without blood, we will either come after you, or go before you, as you shall think expedient: But if you will

will be content to hear your Souldiers griefs and complaints, which are not fained, but expressed by the utmost necessity, I humbly beseech you then, that you would vouchsafe favourably to hear them, who constantly have followed your Authority and Fortune, and are yet ready to follow wheresoever you will appoint. O Alexander, with the greatness of your Acts, you have not overcome only your Enemies, but also your own Souldiers : Wh its never mans mortality is able to fulfil, that is performed by us, having passed over so many Seas and Countries better known to us, then the Inhabitants themselves : We now remain almost in the uttermost end of the world; and yet for all this, your purpose is to pass into another world, and seek out an India unknown to the Indians. Ye covet to pluck out the wilde beasts and Serpents out of their Dens and lurking places, minding to search further with your Victories, then the Sun hath visited with his beams ; which truly is an imagination answerable to your heart, but far exceeding our capacity and power : Your manhood and courage is always increasing, but our force is now declining. Behold our bodies destitute of blood, pierced with so many wounds, and deformed with so many skars ; our swords now are dulled, and our armour consumed ; we wear apparel after the manner of the Persians ; because our Country garments do fail us. we degenerate into a strange habit, who is he that hath a Corset or Horse particular to himself ? Examine how many of the Macedons remain amongst us, and what remaineth to every man of the Spoil : Being the Conquerours of all men, of all men we are the poorest : It is not abundance or excess that troubleth us, but the very War it self : Our ammunition of War is consumed, and yet you minde to put forth this

goodly Army of yours naked unto Beasts, the multitude of whom, though the Indians purposely do increase, yet by their vain report, we may perceive the number to be great. But if you be absolutely determined to pass yet further into India, the Country that lieth Southward is not so desart as the other; which being subdued, you may pass to that Sea which Nature hath appointed to bound in the world. Why do you seek that glory afar off, which remaineth to you ready at your hand? Here the Ocean Sea doth meet us; and if we mistake not, we are come to the utmost place where your Fortune leads you. I had rather speak these things before, then bebinde your back; for I seek not so much to win the favour of the Souldiers, as I desire that you should rather hear the voice of them speaking, then the murmure of them complaining.

When Cenus had made an end of his Oration, there arose a cry and lamentation, which in confus'd voices every where call'd Alexander their King, their Father, and their Lord. Then the other Captains (and especially the more ancient of them, who by reason of their age had the more honest excuse, and greater authority) made the like request; so that the King was nor able in that obstinacy, either to chaste them, or asswage them: Therefore uncertain what to do, he leaped from the Judgment-Seat, and commanding his lodging-door to be shut, he admitted no man to come unto him, but such as were accustomed to be about his person. Two days he continued in this angry melancholy, and the third day he came forth amongst his men, causing twelve Altars of square stone to be set up as a Monument of his Journey, and willed the Trenches

of his Camp to be made wider , and the places where the Souldiers lay to be inlarged greater then served for the bigness of their bodies , thinking by form and shape of things thus increased , to leave a deceitful Wonder to Posterity .

From thence he returned by the way he had passed before , and incamped near unto the River of *Acesines*. *Cenus* chanced there to die , whose death the King lamented ; but yet he said , that for so few days he had made an over-long Oration , as though he alone should have returned into *Macedon*. By that time the Navy of Ships which he had appointed to be made , stood in readiness , and afloate ; and *Memnon* , in the mean season , brought him out of *Thrace* 6000 Horsemen , and besides from *Harpalus* 7000 Footmen , with twenty five thousand Arms that were wrought with silver and gold , which he distributed amongst his men , and commanded the old to be burned , purposing to pass unto the Ocean Sea with a thousand Ships : But before he departed , he reconciled by Affinity *Porus* and *Taxiles* , betwixt whom there was a new discord risen upon their old hatred . He had obtained of them great aid , both in making and the furnishing of his Fleet .

During the time he was about this business , he builded two Cities , the one whereof he called *Nicæa* , and the other *Eucephalon* , naming the latter by the name of his Horse that was dead . He gave order that his Elephants and Carriages should pass by Land , and he sailed down the River , proceeding every day about forty furlongs , so that he might always land his power in such places as he thought

convenient. At length he came into a Country where the Rivers of *Hydaspes* and *Acesines* do joyn together, and do run from thence into the bounds of a Nation called *Sobions*. They declared, that their Predecessors came from *Hercules Army*, who being left there sick, did inhabit the Country; They were cloathed in beasts skins, using Clubs for their weapons: And though they had left the customs of the *Greeks*, yet there appeared many things amongst them, that declared from whence they were descended.

Here the King landed, and marched two hundred and ten furlongs within the Country, which he wasted, and took the chiefeſt City in the ſame. There were forty thouſand men that ſtood in defence againſt him upon a River's ſide; but he paſſed the water, putting them to flight; and after they fled into the City, he wan it by force: The young men were all ſlain, and the reſt ſold as ſlaves. After that he auſſaulted another City, where he was repuſed by the great force of the Defendants, and loſt many of his men: But when the Inhabitants ſaw that he continued ſtill the Siege, deſpairing of their ſafe-guard, they ſet fire on their houses, and deſtroyed themſelves, their Wives and Children; which fire when the *Macedons* quenched, they kindled the ſame again: It ſeemed a ſtrange contention, the Citizens to deſtroy their own City, and their Enemies labouring to preſerve it; the Wars ſo contrarily changed the Laws wrought in man by nature: The Castle was ſaved, wherein a Garrison was left. *Alexander* went about this Castle by water, which was invironed with three of the greatest Rivers in all

all India, *Ganges* excepted; *Indus* passing on the North-side, and *Acesines* running into *Hydaspes* upon the South. Where these Rivers met, the waters rose like surges of the Sea, being full of Mud and Ouze, which by the course of the water were driven upon the shore: for all that the Rivers are broad, yet the Channels are but narrow, wherein the Ships must pass. The waves did rise so high and thick, breaking sometimes upon the Poops, and sometime upon the side of the Ships, that the Marriners began to vail their Sails; but they were so troubled through fear, and the violent swiftness of the stream, that they could not order their tacking, so that two of their greatest Ships were drowned in sight; and the smallest Vessels, which were less able to be governed, were driven upon the shore without any harm. The King chanced upon the place where the Waves swelled highest, wherewith his Ship was so tossed and traversed, that the Helm could not direct its course; wherefore the King fearing to be drowned, pulled off his garments, being ready to cast himself into the water; and his Confidants did swim near thereabout, being ready to receive him. It appeared to him doubtful which peril was the greatest, either to swim, or to continue still aboard. But the Marriners laboured wonderfully with their Oars, adding all the force that lay in mans power to cut through the Waves, by whose importunate travel the water seemed to divide asunder, and to give place, so that at length they got out of the surges; and yet not able to bring the Ship to the shore, dashed upon the next flat, it appearing that the Ships and the Stream had fought a Battel together.

Alexander

Alexander having escaped this peril, set up to every River an Altar, whereupon he offered due Sacrifice ; and that done, he past forwards thirty furlongs. From thence he came into the Country of the *Sudricans* and *Mallians*, who being accustomed to be at war among themselves, were then joyned in Society. They assembled in Arms to the number of nine thousand Footmen, ten thousand Horsemen, and nine hundred armed Waggons ; whereof when the *Macedons* were advertised, who believed that they had passed all perils, seeing a fresh War arise with a new fresh Nation, they were amaz'd with a sudden fear, and began again with seditious words to reprove their King : They alledged, that he would lately have compelled them to pass the River of *Ganges*, to make war upon those Nations inhabiting beyond the same ; which enterprise, though it were left, they had not for all that ended the War never the more, but rather made an exchange for a new labour, being put forth amongst this wilde Nation, to make the Ocean Sea open to him with their blood, and to be drawn beyond the Sun and the Stars : They were compelled (they said) to visit those places that Nature coveted to remove from mans knowledge : They grudged, that to their new Armour there were new Enemies raised up, whom if they should vanquish, and put to flight, they could not see what benefit they should receive thereby, but only darkness and obscurity of the Air, which always covered the deep Sea, replenished with multitudes of Monsters wallowing in those immoveable waters, in which dying Nature did faint away.

The King little moved for himself, was much troubled for these passions of his Souldiers : wherefore he assembled them all together, declaring of how feeble a force those Nations were, whom they feared so much, and who only remained, and were an impediment to them (having passed over so many Countries) to attain to the period of their travels, and to the end of the world. He shewed how that in respect of their former fear, he had left his Enterprize over *Ganges*, with the Conquest of the Nations inhabiting beyond the same, and had directed his journey this way ; whereas their glory shall be as great, and their danger less, seeing the Ocean was in a manner within sight, the Air whereof he felt blowing in his face : He required them therefore, that they would not envy the glory he sought, by passing the bounds of *Hercules* and *Bacchus*, seeing that with so little pain they might give unto their King perpetual Fame and Immortality : In doing whereof, they should depart out of *India* as Conquerours, whereas otherwise they should seem to fly away from thence. It is the property of all multitudes, and specially of Men of War, to be drawn with every little motion, amongst whom, as sedition doth soon arise, so it is soon pacified.

There was never a more chearful cry made of any Army before, then the Souldiers now made to *Alexander*, who willed him to lead them wheresoever he would, and make himself equal in glory unto them whose Acts he did emulate. *Alexander* rejoicing in the willingness that appeared in his Souldiers, remov'd straightways towards his Enemies, who were the stoutest people of all the *Indians*. They prepared

prepared themselves manfully for the Wars , and chose for their Captain one of the *Oxidracans*, who was of an approved Manhood ; he incamping at the foot of a Mountain, made fires all abroad, to cause his number to appear the greater , and went about in vain to fear the *Macedons* when they were at rest , by making of alarms, with their cryes and manner of howling. When the day appeared, *Alexander* having an assured confidence to obtain the Victory, commanded the Souldiers, to put on their Armour, and chearfully to fall in order of Battel : But the *Indians* (whether it were for fear, or by reason of some sedition risen amongst them) suddenly fled into the Desart Mountains; whom *Alexander* followed in vain, and not able to overtake them, took their Carriage. After this he came to the City of the *Oxidracans*, whereunto great numbers were fled , as well in trust of the strength of the place, as of their own power. As *Alexander* was about to make the approach, *Demophon*, his Diviner, admonished him that he should either defer the assault , or else not meddle with it at all, for there appeared signes that his life should be in jeopardy. When *Alexander* had heard his words, he beheld him, and said :

*If any man should interrupt thee when thou art busie about thy Science , or considering of the Entrails, should not he seem unto thee to be troublesome, and his coming to be ungrateful ? Yes truly (said he.) So art thou now unto me (said *Alexander*) for having so great actions in hand , of more moment then the Entrails of Beasts, I finde no greater impediment then a Superstitious Diviner.*

And as soon as he had spoken the word, he caused

led them to rear up the Ladders ; and whilst other men sticke^d and stayed at the danger, he mounted up the wall in his own person. The same was ver^y narrow on the top, not divided with loops , (as is commonly used) but inclosed with one whole and continual Battlement round about , which caused it to be the more hard to scale : *Alexander* therefore having no convenient place to stand for his defence , stayed upon the wall , receiving upon his Target the Darts that were cast at him from all parts. His Souldiers could not get to him, they were so beaten from the walls by the shot that came from above : Yet at the last , when they saw their King given up into their Enemies hands , shame overcame their imminent danger. But their overmuch haste became their hinderance , and was the cause why they could not come to the rescue of their King : For whiles every man coveted to ascend the Ladders, they were so heavily laden, that they brake asunder ; and such as were mounted upon them fell down again , deceiving *Alexander* of his only hope : so that in the sight of all the Army he stood destitute on the walls, as in a Desart, without any aid or succour , and had wearied his left arm (with which he held his Target) in receiving the Darts thrown at him. His friends cryed unto him to leap down unto them, who stood in readiness to receive him : But he giving no ear unto them , undertook an incredible enterprise, and such a one as hath not been heard of before , deserving rather the report of rashness, then of any fame that might sound to his glory ; for with a desperate leap he cast himself into the City that was full of his Enemies : For before he

he could recover his feet again , it was likely either he should have been slain, or taken alive. But he by chance so conveyed his body , that he fell upon his feet, and fought with such as came against him : Fortune so provided, that he could not be enclosed about, by reaſon of an old tree, which as it had been of purpose stood near the wall, whose broad boughs being full of leaves, covered him from above ; and the greatness of the stock kept his enemies from coming at his back ; and upon the forefront he received the darts that were cast against him with his Target. For though there were never so many that contended with him afar off, yet durst there no man come near unto him ; and the boughs kept off the arrows and darts as well as his Target did.

In this extremity , the greatness of *Alexander* Fame chiefly fought for him, and next of all desperation, a great encouragement for a man to die honestly. At length, through the multitude of his enemies that continually flocked about him, both his Target was laden with shot , his Helmet was broken with stones, and his legs fainted and failed under him by reason of his continual travel : which when his enemies perceived , they without fear drew more near unto him ; of whom he received two with his sword in such sort, that they fell down dead at his feet : and from that time forward none was so bold to approach so neer him , but threw Darts, and shot Arrows at him afar off. He lay open to every mans blow , and yet (though with great pain) defended himself upon his knees, until such time as an Indian shot an Arrow at him that was two Cubits long , which a little above his right thigh

thigh passed through his Corset ; by reason of which wound he shed so much bloud, that he let his sword fall, as one at the point of death ; and therewith became so faint, that he had not strength to pluck out the Arrow. Then the Indian which had hurt him came with great joy to spoil his body : but when *Alexander* felt his enemies hand upon him, moved (as it is to be thought) with despite to receive an infamy to that extremity, he called again his spirits that were passing away , and with his sword thrust his enemy (being unarmed) through the body. When he had thus slain three of his enemies , who lay dead before him , all the rest stood amazed afar off. Then *Alexander* desiring before his last breath should fail to be killed fighting , began to raise up his body upon his Target ; but his strength would not serve him thereunto , and therefore he reached at a bough that hung over his head, coveting thereby to have raised himself ; but his ability not suffering him, he fell down again upon his knees , and by a signe given with his hand, challenged his enemies if any of them durst come and fight with him. At the last *Pelusites* repulsing his enemies on another part of the walls, got into the Town ; and coasting along, came unto the place where the King was. When *Alexander* espied him , though he had no hope to live, yet he took his coming for a comfort to his death , and for all his feeblenes began to rear up himself. Then came *Timenus*, and within a while *Leonatus* , and after them *Aristonous*. When it was once published amongst the Indians , that *Alexander* was entred within the walls , they left their defence in other places , and came flocking thither, where they

they fiercely assailed such as stood in defence of the Kings person. *Timesus*, after he had fought notably, and received many wounds, was there slain. *Pencestes* also, notwithstanding that he was stricken and wounded with their Darts, yet with his Target he defended the Kings person, without any regard of himself: And *Leonatus*, whiles he resisted the *Indians* that eagerly ran upon *Alexander*, received so sore a blow on the neck, that he fell down in a swound at the Kings feet. By that time *Pencestes* became so feeble of his wounds, that he was not able to defend him any more: The last hope and refuge remained in *Aristonius*, who also was so grievously wounded, that he could not endure any longer the force of the *Indians*.

In the mean season the fame was spread amongst the *Macedons*, that the King was slain; which being a matter that should have put others in fear, stirred up their hearts, and made them the hardier. For from that time forwards, there was none that had respect of his own peril, but adventured unto the wall; and breaking down the same with Pick-axes, entred in at the breach, making slaughter of their Enemies, of whom few stood at defence, but fled away.

There was neither man, nor woman, nor infant spared; for whomsoever they met, they judged him to be the person that had hurt their King; and so at length, with the slaughter of the multitude, their just anger was satisfied. *Clitarchus* and *Timaenes* do write, that *Ptolomeus*, who afterwards became King of Egypt, was present in this encounter: But he himself, that used not to deny any thing

that stood with his own glory, did put in memory how that he was then absent, being employed on another Enterprise. Such a negligence was then in those who did write the Antiquities of things; or such a credulity, which is a fault no less than the other. When *Alexander* was brought into his lodg-
ing, the Chirurgeons cut off the stale of the shaft, in such sort that they moved not the head that was within the flesh; and when they saw the wound bare; they perceived hooks to be on the Arrow-head, so that without the destruction of his body it chuld not be pulled out, except by incision they made the wound greater; and yet in that point they feared, lest blood flowing too abundantly, should be an im-
pediment unto them; for the head was very great, and it seemed to be entered far within his body. There was one *Critobulus* that was very cunning, and most excellent amongst the Physicians and Chirur-
geons; and yet in so dangerous an accident as this, he was fearful and in doubt to undertake the Cure, lest if any thing should chance to the King other-
wise than well, whilst he remained under Care, the blame thereof might light upon his head; there-
fore when *Alexander* perceived by his weeping the fear he was in, and that through trouble of mind he looked pale in the face, he said unto him:

What is it that thou lookest for? Or why dost thou stay in riddling me quickly out of this pain, at the leastwise by death, if thou canst not otherwise bring it to pass? For seeing my wound is incurable, why fearest thou that any thing should be laid to thy charge?

When *Critobulus* heard his words, he either cea-
sed or dissimiled his fear, and exhorted *Alexander*

that he would suffer himself to be held while they pulled the Arrow-head that was within his flesh ; for the least motion he said might be hurtful unto him. The King would not be held, but kept his body at a stay without moving, in such sort as they appointed him. When they had cut the wound wider, and pulled out the head , there issued out such abundance of blood, that the King fell in a swoon, and a dimness came over his sight, and he stretched out himself as one in the pangs of death. Then they wrought all the means they could to stanch the blood ; but when they perceived it would not avail, his friends began to weep and lament, thinking verily there had been no way but death. Notwithstanding at length he ceased his bleeding, and recovering again his spirits, began to know them that stood about him.

All that day, and the night ensuing, the men of War stood in arms about the Kings lodging, confessing that all their lives depended upon his breath; and would not remove from thence before they understood that he took some rest : but when they knew that he was fallen in a sleep , they returned into the Camp, bringing unto the rest more certain hope of his recovery. *Alexander*, about the curing of his wound , remained there seven days, and understanding that a constant fame of his death was spread abroad amongst the *Indians*, he caused two Ships to be fastened together, and a Lodging to be made for him in the middest ; so that remaining upon the water, from both sides of the land he might be seen of them that thought he had been dead. When the *Indians* perceived he was alive, it took a

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way the hope that some had conceived upon the false Report.

From thence he passed down the stream, leaving a distance between his Ship and the rest of the Navy, to the intent that with the beating of the Oars, they should not disturb him of his rest, which was necessary for his weak body. The fourth day after his embarking, he came into a Countrey abandoned of the Inhabitants, but plentious both in Corn and Cattel, in which place he thought to rest himself and his Souldiers. It was a custom amongst the Macedons, that when their King was diseased, the chief Princes and the great Men watched about his Lodging; which custom being then observed, they entred all together into the chamber where Alexander lay; at whose sudden coming he was somewhat amazed, especially because they came all together. He thought they had brought him some strange tidings, and enquired of them if they understood of any new Assembly of his Enemies. Then Craterus that was appointed to speak in the behalf of them all, spake unto him after this manner:

Do you think that the coming of any Enemies could make us so careful (though they were entred within your Camp) as we are of your health and safeguard, though, of all, this is the thing which you regard least? Though all Nations confire against us with their Power, though the whole world were filled full of men of War, the Seas overspread with Ships, and never so many strange beasts brought against us, it consisteth in the presence of your Person to make us Conquerours. But how can any God promise that you, who are the Light and Star of Macedonia, can be of any continuance? seeing you are so de-

sirous to put your person in such manifest perils, not remembing that with your death you draw with you into ruine the lives of so many of your Countrey-men? Who is he that either can, or doth desire to live after you? We are come so far following your Fortune and Authority, that, without you, none of us are able to return home again. If you were yet contending with Darius for the Kingdom of Persia, though we all would wish you would not adventure your person so perillously, yet in that case we could not marvel so much at your prompt resolution; for where the danger and the benefit that ensueth thereof are equal, the fruit is the greater when the businesse succeedeth well, and the comfort is the more when the thing chanceth evil. There are none, not only of us who are your Souldiers, but even of such as were your Enemies, having any understanding of your greatness that can suffer so base a towne, and of so little fame, to be bought with the price of your life. My heart shrinks at the remembrance of the danger which we but late did see with our own eyes; I am amazed to rehearse how those vile bands were in a readiness to have carried the spoils of your invincible Person, if Fortune of her clemencie had not preserved and delivered you from their crueltie. So many of us as were not able to follow you, are all Traitors, and Forsakers of our Prince: And though it was a matter that lay not in our power, yet if it please you to note us all with reproach, there is none that will refuse any punishment in the purgation of it; notwithstanding we would require you, that you would spare us for some other purpose. We will gladly go whithersoever you will have us; we require War be it never so obscure, and covet the Battel, though our fighting shall want Fame, so that you will reserve your self to those hazards which

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are correspondent for the greatness of your estate. How soon doth glory vanish away, and become of no praise, amongst such Enemies as are of no reputation? And what thing is there more unworthy, than to consume the glory you have gotten elsewhere, amongst them where your glory cannot appear?

When Craterus had ended his speech, Ptolomy and the others spake to him to the like effect, and all at once with weeping eyes required of him, that he would not from thenceforth be any more so thirsty to win praise, but seeing he had gotten sufficient already, he should content himself therewith, and regard his health and safety, whereon their universal estate did depend. The King took so gratefully their loving affection, that he familiarly embraced every one of them; and after he had willed them to sit, revolving in his minde more deeply their former communication, he said thus unto them:

My faithful loving Friends and Country men, I render you most hearty thanks, not only that you prefer my Safety before your own, but also that since the beginning of the Wars you have not pretermitted any thing, wherin your love and benevolence might be shewed towards me; so that I must confess that my life was never so dear unto me as it is now, because I desire long to enjoy you. You are desirous to offer your selves to death in my cause, because you judge that I have deserved that benevolence at your hands; but your imagination and mine is not after one way: You peradventure do covet to enjoy me, to reap of me continually Fruits; and I measure not my self by the continuance of my time, but by the greatness of my glory. I might have been content with the riches

which my Father left me, and with the ease of my body, within the bounds of Macedon, have looked for an obscure and ignoble old age ; and yet I cannot see that they who live in sloth and idleness can assure themselves of their own destiny ; For even such as esteem felicity in long life, are oftentimes prevented with sudden death : But I, who number not my years but by my Victories, have lived long, if I well weigh the gifts of Fortune : For beginning mine Empire in Macedonia, I have Greece in my possession ; I have subdued Thrace and Illyria, I reign over the Tribals and the Medians, being Master of all Asia that lieth between Hellespont and the Red-Sea, and now am not far from the end of the world ; the which I determined to visit, and to lay open to men a new nature, and a new world : I passed out of Asia into Europe in the moment of an hour, being but eight and twenty years of age, and having reigned but nine years, and I am now become the Victor of both Regions ; Do you think it then meet that I should now cease from the purchase of that glory whereunto I have only devoted my self ? No, I will never cease, but wheresoever I shall have occasion to fight, I shall think my self to be in the Theater, where the whole world doth behold me. I will give Nobility and Fame to places that are obscure, and will lay open to all Nations those Countries which Nature hath removed furthest from them ; in doing whereof, it shall be grateful for me to end my life, if Fortune will have it so : I am come of such a Stock, that I ought to desire many things before long life. I pray you to remember that we are come into these Countries, where the name of a Woman is celebrated for her Virtues. What Cities did Semiramis build ? What Nations did she subdue ? And what

what great Works did she accomplish? We are not yet become equal unto a Woman in glory; and yet you would have me to be satisfied with it. Be the gods favourable unto our purpose; for there remains for us yet greater things to do. And it is the next way to make those Countries which we have not yet touched to become ours, if we esteem nothing to be of small value where there is any occasion to purchase glory. Let it be your care to preserve me from the evil conspiracy of my own people, and then there are no adventures in the War shall put me in fear. Philip was more sure in the Front of the Battel abroad, than in the Theatre at home; he oftentimes avoided the force of his Enemies, but he could not eschew the violence of his own Subjects: And if you consider the end of other Kings, you shall number more that have been slain by their own men, than by any Forreign power: But because there is an occasion now offered me to utter that which I have long conceived in my minde, it shall be the greatest fruit I can receive of my travels, if my Mother Olympias, when she departeth this life might be consecrated to immortalitie: if she depart in my time, I will do it my self; but if I shall be prevented by death, remember you to perform what I have determined.

Having spokt these words, he dismissed his Friends from him, and contynued many days in the same place. Whilst these things were doing in India, the Greek Souldiers that had lands and habitations appointed them at *Catapastris*, through a sedition that changed amongst them, rebelled against him, not so much for any hate they did bear to *Alexander*, as for fear of punishment; For they killed divers of their chief Rulers, and assembling in force together,

took the Castle of *Bactria* that was negligently kept, and procured the *Bactrians* to rebel with them.

Athenodorus was the Chief among them, who took upon him the name of a King, not so much for the desire of the Kingdom, as by authority to make himself of power to convey himself and others home into his own Country ; But one *Bicon* of his own Nation became his Enemy, and conspiring against him, did invite him to a Banquet, where he was slain by one *Boxus Macerianus*.

The next day following, *Bicon* assembled the *Greeks* together, persuading them that he slew *Athenodorus* but in his own defence, whose purpose was to have destroy'd him. But there was some that perceived his policy, and the suspition was spread amongst the rest, so that the *Greeks* fell to arms on purpose to slay *Bicon* : But such as were chief, mitigated the wrath of the multitude ; and contrary to his expectation, he was delivered from that present peril : Yet he could not be so contented, but within a while after he conspired them that saved his life ; whose falsehood being known, they took both him and *Boxus*, determining that *Boxus* should be put to death out of hand, and that *Bicon* should end his life by torments.

As they were tormenting him, the Greek Soldiers suddenly in a fury, for what cause it is uncertain, ran to arms, the noise of whom being heard by them who had the charge of *Bicon*, they set him at liberty, fearing that the boy had been raised for his deliverance. He, naked as he was, came running amongst the *Greeks* where they were assembled ; whose mitigate estate so changed their mindes, that they wil-
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led him immediately to be set at liberty. By this means *Bicon* being twice delivered from death, returned into his Country with the *Greeks*, abandoning the Colony whereunto he was appointed by *Alexander*. These things were done in the Confines of *Baria* and *Scythia*.

In the mean season, the King of the two Nations, which we spake of before, sent an hundred Embassadors unto *Alexander*, who being honourable Personages, did ride in Waggons richly apparell'd, having garments of linnen Cloth embroidered with Gold, and empaled with Purple. They declared that the cause of their coming was to yield themselves, their City, their Country, and their Liberties (which they had kept inviolately for so many Ages) to his will and appointment; of which their submission the gods (they said) were Authors, and not any fear; for they were contented to yield themselves before they had proved their power with him. The King called a Council, and received them under his protection, appointing them to pay such Tribute as they did before pay to the *Arachofians*, and besides to send two thousand five hundred Horsemen to serve him in his Wars; all which things they performed obediently. This done, he made a great Feast, whereunto he invited those Embassadors, and his Lords: he used therein sumptuous preparation, ordaining an hundred Beds of Gold to eat upon, which being set a small distance one from another, were drawn about with Curtains garnished with Gold and Purple.

In that Feast there was shewed and set forth all the great excess and voluptuosity, which either by long

long custom was used amongst the Persians, or by corruption was taken up amongst the Macedons, the vices of both these Nations being there mingled together. There was at that Feast one *Dioxippus* of *Athens*, a noble Champion, and by reason of his excellent force, well known unto the King, of whom certain envious and malicious persons, betwixt earnest and jest, said, *That he did nothing but fat his body like an unprofitable beast; and when others went to the Battel, he would anoint his body with Oyl, and prepare himself to eat.* Amongst others that uled evil words of despite against him, there was at the same Feast one *Horratus* a *Macedon*, who in his drunkenness challenged *Dioxippus*, *that if he were a man, he should fight the Combate with him the next day, upon life and death, where the King should judge either him to be rash, or the other too much a Coward.* *Dioxippus* laughing to scorn the pride and arrogancy of the Souldier, accepted his proffer. The next day they were more earnest to go unto the Combate than they were before in making the Challenge: when the King saw them so bent, and that they would not leave their purpose, he consented to their will.

There were great numbers of men assembled at the Combate, amongst whom, there were many *Grecians* who favoured *Dioxippus* part. The *Macedon* came into the Lists armed at all points, holding in his left hand an Iron Buckler and a Spear, and in his right hand a casting-Lance; and having his Sword girt to his side, was furnished as though he should have fought with many men at once. *Dioxippus* came forth anointed with Oyl, with a Garland upon his head; and having a red Cloth wrapt about his

his left arm, he held in his hand a great knotty Cudgel. The diversity of their Weapons brought every man into a wonderful expectation ; for they thought it not only a rashness, but a madnes for *Dioxippus* who was naked, to encounter the other who was armed. The *Macedon* thinking to kill his adversary before they should come to fight hand to hand, threw at him his Lance, which *Dioxippus* avoided by bending of his body ; and before that he could charge his Pike, he leaped to him, and with his Cudgel brake the same asunder : when the *Macedon* had lost both his Weapons, he began to draw his Sword ; but *Dioxippus* prevented him with a close, and taking both his feet from under him, threw him upon the earth, and there plucking his Sword from his side, set his foot upon his neck, and held up his Cudgel to have struck out his brains, if the King had not caused him to stay his hand.

This Triumph ended with displeasure both unto the *Macedons*, and unto *Alexander* himself, especially because this thing was done in the presence of the *Indians* ; fearing lest the valour of the *Macedons*, famed so much in the world, might thereby grow into contempt. Hereupon *Alexander* grudging at *Dioxippus*, had his ears open to the Accusation of those who did envy him. They, within a few days after, had caused a golden Cup purposely to be conveyed out of the way, which the Ministers having imbezelled, they made complaint to *Alexander* of the loss thereof. Oftentimes men shew less constancy in their countenance, than in the offence it self ; for in their complaint *Dioxippus* perceiv'd by their looks that they noted him as the Thief ; which he could not

not endure, but parting out of the Feast (after he had written a Letter to the King) he killed himself.

Alexander was very sorry for his death, which he took for no token of repentance, but rather of indignation: For it afterwards appeared, through the overmuch rejoicing of his Enemies, that he had been falsely accused. The Embassadors of the Indians that were dismissed home, within a few days after returned again, presenting unto *Alexander* three hundred Horses, one thousand and thirty Waggons every one drawn with four Horses, certain Vesture of Linnen-cloth, a thousand *Indian* Targets, and one hundred Talents of Iron, Lions of a rare bigness, and Tygers that were tame, the Skins of great Lizards, and the Shells of certain Fishes.

The King then commanded *Craterus* to conduct his Army along the River whereupon he sailed, and embarking such as were accustomed to accompany him, he with the stream passed into the Bounds of the *Mallians*, and from thence came unto the *Sabracans*, who were a Nation of great power, not ruled by Kings, but by a Government of the People. They had gathered together six thousand Footmen, and six thousand Horsemen, and five hundred armed Waggons, and had chosen three Captains that were approved men of War: But when such as inhabited next unto the River (the Banks being full of Villages) saw all the River, as far as they could view, over-spread with Ships, and the Armour glistering of so many men of War, they were amazed at the strangeness of the sight, and thought that some Army of the gods, or else *Bacchus* (whose name was famous amongst those Nations) had been come amongt

mongst them. The cry of the men of War, with the clashing of the Oars, and the strange noise of the Mariners exhorting one another, filled their fearful ears. They ran therefore amongst their Countrymen, who had assembled their Forces, declaring their madness if they would contend with the gods; for they said the Ships could not be numbered that carried those invincible people: with which words they put such fear amongst the men of their own Nation, that they sent immediately Embassadors to yield themselves.

When he had received their submission, he came the fourth day into another Country, the people whereof durst no more withstand him than the other did; and there he builded a City, which he named *Alexandria*: and from thence he entred into a Country, the inhabitants whereof they call *Musicians*, there he understood by the accusation of the *Paromisidans*, that *Destriores* (whom *Alexander* had appointed Lieutenant amongst them) had ruled in excessive pride and covetousness, and therefore he commanded him to be put to death: And *Oxiartes* Lieutenant of the *Bactrians* being also acculed, was not only acquitted, but had a greater Rule committed unto him.

When he had subdued the uttermost part of the *Musicians*, he put a Garrison into their City, and advanced from thence into another Nation of the *Indians* called *Prestians*; of whom *Oxianus* was King, who with a great Power retired himself into a strong City, which *Alexander* wen the third day after he began his Siege: Upon the taking of the Town, *Oxianus* fled into the Castle, and sent Embassadors to treat

treat for peace ; but before they were come to *Alexanders* presence, two Towers of the Castle fell with a great noise, by the ruines whereof the *Macedons* got into the Castle, where *Oxicanus* with a few standing at defence, was slain.

The Castle being razed, and all that were within sold as slaves, *Alexander* came into the bounds of *Saba*, where beside many Holds that yielded to him, he took the strongest City of that Country by force of a Myne. It seemed a wonderful thing to the *Indians*, being ignorant of such Policies of War, for armed men to come forth of the ground in the midst of their City, where there appeared no signe of any way under the Earth. *Clitarchus* doth write, that there were eighty thousand *Indians* slain in that Country, besides many prisoners sold as slaves. The *Musicans* in the mean time rebelled ; for the suppressing of whom *Python* was sent thither, who took the Prince of the Nation prisoner, and brought him to *Alexander*, whom he caused to be hanged upon a Cross as the Author of the Revolt ; which done, he returned again to the River where he had commanded his Navy to tarry for him. The fourth day after he came to a Town at the entrance into the Kingdom of *Samus*, the King whereof had newly yielded himself ; but the Citizens had shut their Gates, and would not be at his Commandment ; whose small number *Alexander* regarded so little, that he sent five hundred *Agrians* unto their Gates to proffer them Skirmish, to the intent that by reti-
zing, they might draw them by little and little out of their strength, thinking they would follow the Chase, when they should see their Enemies flying.

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The *Agrians* did as they were appointed ; and when they had once provoked their Enemies , they immediately turned their backs , and the *Indians* pursued them , until they came to the Ambuscado where the King lay in person ; then the *Agrians* turned , and the Fight was renewed so fiercely , that of three thousand *Indians* , there were five hundred slain , and a thousand taken , the rest recovered the City : but the end of the Victory was not so pleasant as the beginning ; for the *Indians* had so envenomed their Arrows , that such as were hurt died of the wounds : and the Physicians could not devise the cause of so strange a death ; for even the lightest hurts were incurable . The *Indians* trusted that *Alexander* through his rashness might have come within that danger , who by chance fighting amongst the foremost , escaped unhurt .

Ptolemy was lightly wounded upon the left shoulder , and being in a greater danger than the greatness of his wound shewed , caused the King to be careful of him ; for he was near of kin unto him , and some thought that *Philip* was his Father ; but it is certain that his mother was *Philip* his Concubine : He was one of them that had the charge of the Kings person , a valiant man of War , and yet more famous in the arts of Peace : he was moderate both in his apparel and living ; liberal , easie to be spoken to , and without any such height of minde , as is accustomed to be in them descended of the Royal Blood ; by reason of which qualities , it is uncertain whether he was better beloved of the King , or of the Souldiers .

This was the first occasion he had to prove how
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the mindes of men were affectionate towards him; for even in that danger, the Macedons began to divine of his fortune, whereunto afterwards he ascended. They had no less care of *Ptolomy* than of the King himself; who used him so familiarly, that when he was wearied either with travel or care of minde, he would sit for his solace with *Ptolomy*, and at that time caus'd his bed to be brought into his own chamber: When *Ptolomy* was laid there, he fell suddenly in a sound sleep, in the which it seemed that a Dragon offered to him an herb out of his mouth, for the healing of his wound, and taking away of the venome. When he awaked, he declared his dream, and shewed both the colour and fashion of the herb, affirming that he could know it, if any man could finde it out. This herb was sought by so many, that at length it was found; and being put upon the wound, the pain straightways ceased, and the scar within short space was closed. When the Indians were disappointed of the hope they had conceived that way, they yielded themselves and their City.

From thence *Alexander* went into the next Country, called *Parthalia*, the King whereof called *Meris* left the City, and fled into the Mountains, so that *Alexander* took the same, finding a wonderful prey of Sheep, of Cattel, and of Corn. There he took Pilots that knew the River, and came unto an Island which stood in the midst of the stream, where he was compelled to remain the longer, because the Pilots being negligently kept, were escaped away. He sent therefore to seek out others; but when he could finde not any, there entred a vehement desire into his head to visit without any Guide, the Ocean-Sea, and

and the end of the world, committing his own life, and the lives of so many thousands, to a River which none of them did know. They sailed as men ignorant of all places they came unto, either how far the Sea was distant from them, what Nations did inhabit the Countries thereabouts, or whether the Mouth of the River were navigable for Gallies, or not. In all these things they were led by a blinde and doubtful imagination, having no other comfort in their rash Enterprize, but only that they trusted to their continual felicity. When they had gone forwards four hundred Furlongs, the Ship-masters told the King, that they felt the air of the Sea, whereby they knew the Ocean was at hand. Thereat he rejoiced greatly, and exhorted the Mariners that they would with all the power they could, make way with their Oars, to bring him to the sight of the end of the World, which he had so long desired.

Now (said he) our Glory is perfect, when our manhood is such that nothing can stay us: now the World is come into our hands without any further hazard of War, or shedding of Bloud: Now since the Bounds that Nature hath wrought be so near at hand, we shall shortly see things unknown, saving to the immortal gods. Yet notwithstanding he set some men upon the Land to take some of the Country-men, by whom he trusted to have known the certainty of the truth. When they searched out their Cottages, at length they found out some of the wisest who were hidden, who being demanded how far the Sea was from them, they made answer, that they never heard it named; but they said, that within three days sayling, they should come unto a place

where a brackish water did corrupt the fresh ; by which words the Mariners understood that they meant the Sea , of the nature whereof the people were ignorant : then the Mariners rowed chearfully, their desire growing ever the greater , as they approached near unto the place which they hoped to be the end of their travel. On the third day they came where the Sea and the River joyned together, mixing with a small floud their waters that were of a contrary nature : Then because the tide was somewhat against them, they haled towards another Island standing in the midst of the River, which being an easie place to land at, the *Macedons* ran about to seek Victuals, in surety as they thought, being ignorant of the chance that came upon them.

About three of the clock, according to its ordinary course, the tide came rowling in from the Sea, and with his force did drive the stream backward, which at the first being but stayed, was afterwards so vehemently repulsed, that it caused the water to return backward with greater fury then a swift stream is accustomed to run. The common sort that knew not the nature of the Ocean, thought the same to be a wonderful thing, and that it had been a token sent to them of Gods wrath : and while they were in that imagination, the Sea swelling more and more, overflowed the Land which they saw before dry ; and as the water mounted, the Ships and all the Navy was dispersed here and there. Such as were upon land were amazed with the suddenness of the event, and ran from all parts in great fear unto their Ships. But in a tumult, haste doth always hurt, and giveth impediment. Some there were that

went

went about to set forward their Ships ; others forbade rowing, and removed not at all ; otherwhiles they made haste away, and would not tarry to take in their company, and they moving but slowly could make no way. Some, when they saw them press on Ship-board in such throngs, for fear of taking in too many, would receive none at all ; so that both the multitude and the small number were an equal impediment unto the haste they made. The cry that some made in bidding men tarry, and the noise that others made in willing them to go forwards, with their voices that differed, and agreed not in one effect, took away the use both of their sight and hearing. The Mariners could not help it, whose words in the tumult could not be heard, nor their commandments observed amongst men in fear and out of order. The Ships therefore did beat one against the other, the Oars crashed asunder, and every Ship either thrust forward or did put back one another. No man would have judged it to be one Fleet, but rather two Navies fighting a Battel upon the Sea. The Sterns did strike against the poop ; such as went before, troubled them that came after ; and at last the words of men in their choler came unto blows. The tide had now over-flowed all the Plains thereabout, so that nothing appeared above the Waters save the Hills, which seemed so many little Islands, whereunto many did swim, and left their Ships for fear.

Whilst the Navy was thus dispersed abroad, and partly floated as they hapned in any valley, and partly stuck in the ground as they lighted on the flats ; there came suddenly another terour greater then the first : For when the Sea began to ebbe, the

water fell back again into his wonted course, with so great violence as it came forwards, and restored the sight of the Land, which before was drowned as in a deep Sea. The Ships then forsaken of the water, fell upon their sides, and the Fields were strewed with broken boards and pieces of Oars. The Souldiers durst not go forth to Land, and yet were in doubt to tarry on Ship-board, looking ever for some greater mischief to come, then what they saw present or past. They could scarcely believe what they saw and suffered, which was a Shipwreck upon the land, and a Sea within a River. They thought no end could come of this calamity ; for they knew not that the Sea should shortly return again, and set their Ships afloat : And therefore they proposed to themselves Famine and all extremities. The Monsters also of the Sea, which after the water was past, were left on dry land, did put them in great fear.

The night approached, and despair brought the King into a great agony : yet no care could so overcome his heart, that was invincible, but he watched all night, and sent Horsemen to the mouth of the River, to bring him word when the tide came. He caused two Ships that were broken to be amended, and such as were overwhelmed to be hoisted up again ; warning all men to lie in wait, and be in a readiness against the water should arise. When he had consumed all that night in watching and giving exhortation unto his men, straightways the Horsemen returned on a main gallop, and the tide at their heels, which mildly increasing, began to raise again their Ships ; and when it had once over-flowed the Banks, the whole Navy began to move. Then all

the

the Coast rebounded with the unmeasurable rejoicing that the Souldiers and Mariners made for their safeguard, whereof they were before in despair.

When they saw the danger past, they inquired one of another, by what reason the Sea could so soon ebb and flow; and debated the nature of that Element, which one while disagreed, and another while was obedient and subject to the time. The King conjecturing by the tignes he had seen before, that after the Sun-rising the tide would serve to his purpose, at mid-night with a few Ships did sail down the Stream; and passing out at the mouth of the River, he entred four hundred Furlongs into the Sea; and being Master of his desires, he there made sacrifice to the gods of the Sea, who were worshipped in those Countries, and returned again unto his Navy. On the next day he returned backwards against the Stream, and arrived at a salt Lake, the nature whereof being unknown, deceived many that rashly entred into the water; for their bodies by and by became full of scabs; which disease taken by some, the contagion thereof infected many others: but they found that Oyl was a remedy for the same.

Alexander lying still with his Army, waiting for the Spring of the year, sent *Leonatus* before by Land where he thought to pass, to dig Wells, because the Country was very dry, and destitute of water. In the mean time, he builded many Cities, and commanded *Nearchus* and *Oneiscritus* (that were most expert in the Discipline of Sea-service) with his strongest Ships to pass into the Ocean, and to go so far forwards as they might with surety, to under-

stand the nature of the Sea ; and willed them at their return, to land either within that River, or else within *Euphrates*. When the Winter was well passed, he burned those Ships which were unseiceable, and conveyed his Army by Land. After nine Incampings he came into the Country of the *Arabitans*, and from thence in nine days came into the Country of the *Gedrosians*, who being a free Nation, by a general Counsel had amongst them, yielded themselves ; of whom there was not any thing demanded saving only Victuals.

The fifth day he came into a River, which the Country-men call *Barabon*, beyond which there lay a barren Country, greatly destitute of water, through the which he passed, and entred amongst the *Horitans*. There he betook the greater part of his Army to *Ephestion*, and divided the Souldiers that were light armed to *Ptolomy* and *Leonatus* ; and so they wasted the Country with three Armies at once, and took a great booty. *Ptolomy* turned towards the Sea, *Leonatus* on the other hand, and *Alexander* himself in the midst. In that Country he builded also a City, and brought men out of *Arachosia* to inhabit it. From thence he came amongst the *Indians*, who, lying upon the Sea-coast, do inhabit a great Country that is waste and desert. They use no Traffique, Commerce, nor Conversation with any of their Neighbours : but the desartness of their Country made them savage, being wilde of their own nature. Their nails and hair are never cut : they made their Houses of the Shells of Fishes, and of other things that the Sea casteth up ; and being clad with the skins of wilde Beasts, do feed on

Fishes dried with the Sun, and such Monsters as the Sea doth cast upon the Land.

Here the *Macedons* consumed their Victuals, and first endured scarcity, and afterwards extrem hunger, searching out in every place the roots of the Palms, which is the only Tree that groweth in that Country: But when that kinde of nourishment failed them, they killed their Carriage-beasts, and abstained not from their Horses; insomuch that lacking Beasts to bear their Baggage, they were inforced to consume with fire those Spoils of their Enemies, which had caused them to travel into the uttermost bounds of the Orient. After their Famine, there followed a Pestilence; for the unaccustomed nourishment of the unwholesome meat they did eat, with the travel of their journey, and the anxiety of their mindes, did spread Diseases amongst them in such sort, that they could neither continue in a place, nor yet go forwards without great destruction: Hunger oppressed them when they tarried, and the Pettulence was more vehement ever as they went forwards. The Fields therefore were strewn full of men that were half dead and half alive; and such as were but half sick were not able to follow the Army, it marched with so great a speed: For every man thought so much to further his own safetey, by how much he made halte to get before his fellows.

Such as fainted and could not follow, desired both such as they knew and knew not, to help them forwards: but they had no Beatis whereupon to set them, and the Souldiers (who had the imminent mischief that fell upon other men, represented be-

fore their own eyes) could hardly bear their own Arms ; wherefore when they were called upon, they would not vouchsafe once to look back , fear had so taken away all compassion from them. Then they who were left behinde, cried upon the gods and their King for help, alledging, That they were all of one Country and Religion, which was a Band for one to relieve another : But when they had cried long in vain unto their deaf ears , through desperation they raged, wishing the like end to their Friends and Companions which they themselves endured.

The King possessed both with sorrow and shame, because he and none else should be the cause of so great a destruction amongst his men, did write to *Pbrataphernes*, Ruler of the *Parthenians*, to send to him upon Camels, Victuals ready to be eaten ; and certified the Princes of the Countries round thereabout of his necessity , who did slack no time , but made provision according to his will. Thus his Army delivered only from Famine , was brought within the bounds of the *Gedrosians*; and forasmuch as the same was a Country fertile of all things, he thought good to stay there a while, with rest to recover again his feeble Souldiers.

There he received Letters from *Leonatus*, that he had won the Victory of the *Horitans*, who encoun-
tered him with eight thousand Footmen , and five hundred Horsemen . He was adverntized from *Cra-
terus*. That he had taken and put in hold *Ozines* and *Zariaffes*, two Nob'e-men of *Persia*, who went about to rebel . *Alexander* also understanding that *Mem-
non* was dead , gave the charge of the Country
whereof he had the rule, unto *Siburtius*, and after-
wards

wards marched into *Carmania*. *Aspates* was Governor of that Nation, who being suspected of Innovation whiles *Alexander* was in *India*, met him on the way : But *Alexander* dissembling his wrath, entertained him gently, and gave unto him his accustomed honour, till such time as he had better proof of the accusation which was laid against him.

When the Princes of *India*, according to his appointment, had sent out from all their Countries great plenty of Horses, and other Beasts, both for Saddle and Draught, he gave Carriage again to all men that wanted, and restored their Armour to the former beautifullness and excellency : for they were come into a Country joyning upon *Persia*, which was both abundant in all things, and also quietly established under his subjection. He thought it then a time to counterfeit *Bacchus*, in the glory and fame which he got amongst those Nations. Whether it were a Triumph that *Bacchus* first instituted, or a pastime used of him in drunkenness, *Alexander* was determined to counterfeit his Acts, having his minde elevated above the estate of man. He commanded therefore all the Villages through the which he was to pass, to be strewed with Flowers and Garlands, and Wine to be set forth at every mans door, for all men that would drinck. He caused Waggons also to be made, of largeness able to carry great numbers, and decked the same with precious Furniture. The King went foremost with his Friends, and next to them his Guard, wearing upon their heads Garlands of Flowers, some playing upon Flutes, some upon Harps : every one generally through the Army adorned his Chariot according

cording to his ability and substance ; and consuming the whole day in Banqueting, did hang their rich Armour beside them. *Alexander*, with such as he called to his Company, was carried in a Chariot, laden with Cups of Gold, and other golden Vessels ; and with his drunken Army he marched thus seven days together, in ostentation of the prey they had gotten ; wherein they shewed such dissoluteness, that if one thousand of the subdued people had given them the onset, they might have taken them Prisoners, and led them away in triumph. But Fortune, which hath appointed both Fame and Estimation to things, turned all this disorder unto his Glory : for both the Age that was then, and the Posterity that came after, marvelled, and took it for a wonder, that he durst go so dissolutely among those Nations, not yet established under his Empire ; the barbarous People reputing his Rashnes for an assured Confidence. But shedding of bloud ensued after this Triumph : For Prince *Affasis* (spoken of before) was commanded to be put to death : So that his excess in Voluptuousness, was no let unto his Cruelty , nor his Cruelty an impediment to his Voluptuousness.



THE
TENTH BOOK
OF
QUINTUS CURTIUS.

Of the Acts of Alexander the Great, King of Macedonia.

About the same time *Cleander, Sitacles, Agathon, and Heracon*, who by the Kings appointment had put *Parmenio* to death, returned to him, bringing with them five thousand Footmen and a thousand Horsemen. There were many Accusers that followed them out of the Province whereof they had the Governance; their behaviour being such, that the acceptable service they had done to *Alexander*, in killing of *Parmenio*, could be no satisfaction for the multitude of offences they had committed. They used such an universal spoil, not abtaining from Temples, nor from consecrated things. The Virgins also and great Ladies of the Country whom they had ravished, complained of them, lamenting the shame they had sustained. They used such Covetousness and inordinate Lust in their Authority, that it caused the name of the *Macedons* to be hated amongst those Nations. And yet among all the rest, *Cleanders* offence

offence was most horrible, who ravishing a Virgin of Noble Parentage, gave her to his Slave to use as his Concubine.

The greater part of *Alexanders Friends* were not so much offended with their cruelty and foul acts, whereof they were accused, as with *Parmenio* his death, which they kept in silence, lest the rehearsal thereof might have procured them favour with the King; rejoicing that the Kings Justice was fallen upon the Ministers of his Wrath, and that no Power or Authority gotten by evil means, could have any long continuance.

Alexander hearing the Cause, said, that the Accusers overshot the greatest Offence, which was the despair of his own safety; for if they had either hoped or believed that he should ever have returned out of India, they durst never (he said) have committed any such horrid offences. He commanded them therefore to prison, and six hundred Souldiers to death, who had been the Ministers of their cruelty; and they also were executed the same day, whom *Craterus* had brought as Authors of the Rellellion out of Persia. Within a while after, *Nearchus* and *Oaescritus*, who had been commanded by the King to search the Ocean-sea, returned to him, declaring some Discoveries by knowledge, and some by report: They shewed him of an Island not far from the mouth of *Indus*, which abounded with Gold, and had no breed of Horses amongst them; wherefore the Inhabitants would give a Talent for every Horse brought from the Main-land. They also told him of great and monstrous Fishes (whereof those Seas were full) which carried down with the Tide, would

would shew their bodies as big as a great Ship, and follow the whole Fleet with a terrible noise ; and when they dived underneath the water, they troubled the Seas, as it had been a Ship-wreck. These were things they had seen ; the rest they received by the report of the Inhabitants : as how the Red-sea took his name of King *Eritrus*, and not of the colour of the Water. They shewed also another River not far from the Main-land, growing full of Palm-trees, where was a great Wood, and in the midst thereof stood a Pillar, where King *Eritrus* was buried, with an Inscription on it of such Letters as were used in that Country.

They added besides , That such Vessels as carried the Merchants, and the Vassals of the Army, through the covetousness of the Gold which had been reported unto them, were landed in the Illand by the Mariners, and were never seen after. These words moved *Alexander* much, and put him in a great desire to get more certain knowledge of those parts ; and therefore he commanded them again to Sea, willing that they should coast the Land, till they came within the River of *Euphrates*, and from thence to come up to *Babylon* against the Stream. The things were infinite that he compassed in his head : for he determined after he had brought the Sea-coast of the Orient under his subjection , to go out of *Syria* into *Africk*, for the envy he bare to the *Carthaginians* ; he purposed from thence to pass over the Desarts of *Numidia*, towards the *Gades*, where he understood by fame that *Hercules* had planted his Pillars ; and so directing his Journey through *Spain* (the which the Greeks of the River

Iberus

Iberus call Iberia) to go over the Alps into Italy, till he should come to the Coast where the next passage was unto Epirus. For this intent he gave commandment to his Officers in Mesopotamia, That they should cut down Materials in Mount Libanus, and convey the same to Capsagas, a City in Syria , and there make Gallies of such greatness, that every one of them might be able to carry seven Oars upon a Bank ; and from thence he willed them to be conveyed unto Babylon. He also sent commandment to the King of Cyprus, to furnish them with Iron, Hemp, and Sails.

Whiles these things were in doing, he received Letters from Porus and Taxiles, signifying , That Abiazares was dead of a Disease, and that Philip his Lieutenant in those parts was slain, they being put to death who were the Actors of it. Alexander in the place of Philip preferred Eudemon that was Captain of the Ibracians, and gave Abiazares Kingdom to his Son. From thence he came to Pasargades, a Country of the Persians, whereof Orsines was Lord, who in Nobility and Riches exceeded all other men in those parts, as one that derived his Pedegree from Cyrus, that once was King of Persia. The Riches his Predecessours left him were great, and he by a long continuance in his Inheritance and Authority had much increased the same.

He met Alexander coming thitherwards, and presented both him and his Friends with Gifts of sundry sorts, which were a multitude of young Horses ready to be backed, Chariots wrought with gold and silver, precious Moveables, excellent Pearls, and sparkling Stones, weighty Vessels of Gold, Robes of Purple,

ple, and four thousand Talents of coyned Silver. But this his liberality was the occasion of his death : for when he had presented all the Kings Friends with Gifts above their desire, he honoured not *Bagoas* the Eunuch with any Gifts at all, whom *Alexander* especially favoured for the use of his body, by which he did oblige the King unto him: There were therefore some that gave him admonition how much *Alexander* esteemed *Bagoas* ; but he answered them,

That his custom was to honour the Kings Friends, and not his Minions ; and that it was not the manner of the Persians to have any estimation, who did pollute themselves in so shameful an abuse.

When his words were reported to the Eunuch, he used the Power which he had got by dishonest Arts, to the destruction of that noble and innocent man ; for he did suborn certain lewd persons of *Orfines* Country, to bring in false Accusations against him, which he warned them to present at such a time as he should appoint unto them. In the mean season, whensoever *Bagoas* got the King alone, he would fill his credulous ears with tales against *Orfines* ; ever dissembling the cause of his displeasure, lest thereby he might lose the reputation of his false report.

The King had not *Orfines* yet in suspition of such a Crime as afterwards he was charged with ; but he began to grow with him out of estimation. His accusation was ever so secret, that he could never get knowledge of the peril that was privily wrought against him. This importunate Favourite, in his vile conversation had with the King, was mindful ever of the malice he bare to *Orfines*, whom he would not cease to bring in suspition of Covetousness

ness and Rebellion, so oft as he saw *Alexander* bent to use him familiarly. And now the false Accusations were in readiness, which he had prepared to the destruction of the innocent, whose fatal destiny, which did approach, could not be avoided.

It chanced that *Alexander* caused the Tomb wherein *Cyrus* Body was buried to be opened, pretending to use certain Ceremonies for the dead, but thinking in very deed that his Tomb had been full of Gold and Silver; whereof there was a constant fame amongst the Persians: But when it was viewed, there was nothing found but a rotten Target, two *Scythian Bows*, and a Scimiter. *Alexander* caused the Coffin wherein *Cyrus* Body was laid, to be covered with the Garment which he himself accustomed to wear, and set thereupon a Crown of Gold; marvelling that the sumptuousness used in burial of such a King, endued with so great Riches, was no more then in the burial of an ordinary person. When this thing was in doing, *Bagoas* stood next unto *Alexander*, and beholding him in the face said unto him:

What marvel is it though the Sepulchres of Kings be empty, when Lords Houses are not able to hold the Gold that they have taken out from thence? For my part, I never saw this Tomb before; but I have heard Darius report, That there were three thousand Talents buried with Cyrus. From hence (said he) proceeded Orsines liberality, in winning your Favour by the gift of that which he knew he could not keep.

When he had thus stirred up *Alexander's* wrath against *Orsines*, he presented them whom he had suborned to accuse him; by whose report, and by

Bagoas

Bagoas informations, Alexander was so incensed against Orsines, that he was put in prison before he could suspect he was accused. The Eunuch was not contented with the destruction of this innocent man, but at his death laid violent hands upon him; unto whom Orsines said, *I have heard that Women in times past have reigned, and born great rule in Asia; but it is now a more strange thing that an Eunuch should have the Empire in his hands.* This was the most Noble of all the Persians: He was not only an innocent man in this matter, but such a one as did bear singular affection unto Alexander, and had shewed great liberality to him and his. At the same time Pbradates, who was suspected to have gorie about to make himself King, was put to death.

Alexander began then to be much inclined to the shedding of bloud, and to be credulous in hearing of false reports: of such a force is Prosperity to change a mans nature, wherein few men have consideration of Vertue. Thus he who a little before would not condemn Lintestes Alexander, when he was accused by two Witnesses, and suffered divers of more mean estate to be acquitted, though it vexed him that they seemed not guilty to other mens thus he who bestowed Kingdoms upon his Enemies whom he had subdued, was in the end so much altered from his former inclination, that against his own appetite, at the will of a vile Minion, he would give Kingdoms unto some, and take away Lives from others.

About the same time he received Letters of the Affairs in Europe, whereby he understood that whiles he was in India, Zopyrius his Lieutenant in

Thrace made an Expedition against the *Getes*, where by Storms and Tempests that suddenly rose upon him, he was destroyed and all his Army. When *Sutbes* understood the defeat of that Army, he procured the *Odrisians* that were his Countrymen to revolt; so that all *Thrace* was in a manner lost thereby, and *Greece* it self stood in no great safety.

The Writers of the Acts of *Alexander the Great*, make mention in this place of *Calanus* an *Indian*, a man very famous in Philosophy, who by the persuasion of King *Taxiles*, followed *Alexander*, and ended his life after a strange manner: When he had lived threescore and thirteen years without any Disease, at his coming into *Persia* he felt a pain in his belly; by which conjecturing that the end of his life was come, lest such a perpetual felicity as he had lived in should be interrupted by any long Disease, or tormented by the multitude of Medicines which Physicians do use to administer, he required *Alexander* that he would cause a Fire to be made, that he might burn himself in the same.

The King began to dissuade him from his purpose, thinking to have withdrawn him from the execution of so horrible an act; but when he perceived with what stedfastness and constancy he upheld his resolution, and that there was no way to keep him any longer in life, he suffered a Fire to be made according to his will, into which *Calanus* did ride on horseback, making first his Prayer to the gods of his Country; and taking the *Macedons* by the hands, required them that they would spend that day pleasantly in banqueting with their King, whom

whom not long after he said he should see at Babylon.

When he had spoken these words, he went chearfully into the Fire; and carrying his body in a comely posture, he kept still the same gesture and countenance at his death, which he was accustomed to do in his life. When the Fire flamed, the Trumpet sounded, and the Men of War made such a shout as they were accustomed to do when they joyned in Battel with their Enemies, which rebounded to the skies; the Elephants also made a terrible noise. These are the things which grave Writers do testifie of *Calanus*, who was a notable Example of an invincible minde, and constantly bent to endure adversity.

From thence *Alexander* advanced to *Susa*, where he took to Wife *Statira*, the eldest Daughter of *Darius*, whose youngest sister called *Dyrpetis*, he gave in marriage unto *Ephestion*, and bestowed fourscore Virgins of the Noblest of all the Nations he had conquered, to the principal *Macedons*, and to the chief of his Friends, because he would not seem alone to begin so strange a Custom. These Marriages were celebrated after the *Persian* manner, and a magnificent Feast prepared at the Espousals, at which there were nine thousand Guests present, to every one of whom *Alexander* gave a drinking Cup of Gold. At the same time the Rulers of the Cities whom *Alexander* had subdued and builded, sent unto him thirty thousand young Souldiers that were all of one age, furnished with fair Armour, and fit for any Enterprize of the War, whom he called *Epygony*, that is to say, Successours. The *Macedons* at their coming seemed to be somewhat appalled, who

wearied with long War, used often in their Assemblies to murmur, and speak mutinous words against their King; for which cause he prepared these Souldiers to restrain the arrogancy of the others, and gave them great benevolences.

Harpalus, to whom the King had committed the charge of the Treasure and Revenues at *Babylon*, hearing of the Acts that *Alexander* had done in subduing the greater part of the Kings of *India*, and his success to be so prosperous that nothing could withstand him, knowing the unsatiable desire that was in *Alexander* to visit far Countries, and to increase his Glory, thought it should be a hard matter for him to return to *Babylon* again: Wherefore he gave himself to delight and riot, misusing many that were Noble and free-women, and wallowed in all kind of voluptuousness; insomuch that he sent for a famous Harlot called *Potonice*, to whom he both gave many great and Princely Gifts while she was alive, and also after her death spent thirty Talents on her Tomb.

Having in these and such other voluptuous Vanities consumed a great part of the Treasure, when he understood that *Alexander* was come out of *India*, and did execute Justice upon his Officers, who misused them over whom they had the Rule (by reason he was privy to his foul Conscience) he feared the like might fall on himself: And therefore gathering together five thousand Talents, and six thousand mercenary Souldiers, he took his way towards *Athens*, no man being willing to receive him by the way. When he came to *Tenarion* (where a great number of the mercenary Greeks who had been discharged

charged out of *Afia* were assembled) he left his Soldiers there, and went to *Athens* with his Money.

When he was come thither, a great number of Citizens flocked about him; but more for love of his Money, than for any respect unto himself: but especially the Oratours, whom by small Rewards he easily corrupted to defend his Cause before the People. But afterwards, at a general Assembly, he was commanded to depart the City; and so he returned again among the Greek Souldiers, by whom he was slain. After that, with thirty Ships they passed over to *Sunium*, which is a point of Land in the Territory of *Athens*, from whence they determined to have entred into the Haven of the City.

These things being known, *Alexander*, who was much moved as well against the *Athenians* as against *Harpalus*, prepared a Navy to make War in person immediately against them. As he was busied about it, he understood by secret Letters, both how *Harpalus* had been in *Athens*, and had corrupted with Money the chief of the City, and also how afterwards, by a Council of the People, he was commanded to depart from thence, and returning amongst the Greek Souldiers, he was betrayed and slain by one of them. These news greatly rejoiced *Alexander*, whereby he had occasion to leave off his Journey into *Europe*; but he sent commandment to all the Cities of *Greece*, that they should receive all their banished men, such only excepted as had committed any murder on their own Country-men. Although the *Greeks* knew this to be the breach of their Laws and Liberties, yet as men that durst not disobey his Will, they called home their banished

men, and restored to such of them their Goods who did remain: Only the *Athenians*, who evermore defended obstinately the Liberties of their Commonwealth, and who had not been accustomed to live under the obedience of any King, but under the Laws and Customs of their Country would not permit that such dregs of men should live amongst them, but did drive them out of their bounds; ready to suffer any thing, rather than to receive such who sometime were the vomit of all their City, and the refuse of the Outlaries.

The time was come that *Alexander* now intended to dismiss his old Souldiers, and to send them home into their Country; but he willed first thirteen thousand Footmen and two thousand Horsemen to be chosen out, to remain still in *Asia*, which he judged might be kept with a small Army, because (he thought) the many Garisons he had planted, and the Cities which he had newly builded and filled with Inhabitants, would be able to awe such as should attempt any Rebellion. But before he would distinguish who should depart, and who should remain, he caused a Proclamation to be made, *That all Souldiers should declare their debts* (wherewith he perceived many of them to be heavily burdened); and though it did rise through their own excess, yet he was determined to discharge every man. But the Souldiers thinking it had been but a device to finde who were most prodigal, delayed the time, and brought not in their Declarations.

The King perceived shame to be the cause thereof, and not disobedience or obstinacy; and therefore he caused

caused Tables to be set up through his Camp, and ten thousand Talents to be brought forth ; of all which Treasure, when their Debts were paid, according to the just accompt, there remained of Talents no more but an hundred and thirty : Whereby it appeared, That they who were the Conquerours of so many rich Nations, brought out of *Asia* more Glory than Spoil. After it was once known that some should be dismissed, and some remain behinde, they thought the King would have established his Kingdom perpetually in *Asia* : Wherefore like madmen, and unmindful of all Discipline of War, they filled the Camp full of seditious words, and came to the King more arrogantly, and with greater violence than ever they did before, and all with one voice required to be discharged, shewing him the hoariness of their hair, and their faces deformed with scars. And herein they could not be staid, either by chastisement of their Officers, or by any reverence of their King ; but when he would have spoken unto them, they would not suffer him to be heard, but disturbed his Speech with their tumultuous cry, and violent throng, protesting, *That they would never move one foot forwards to any place, except it were towards their own Country.* After some hours (because they thought that Alexander would incline to their purpose) they kept silence, and stood in expectation what he would do. Then Alexander spake thus unto them :

What meaneth this so sudden a consternation of your minde, and this so petulant and so wilde an insolence ? I am afraid to speake unto you, you have so manifestly broken your obedience towards me. I am now become a King at the appointment of my People ; you have nei-

ther left me the libertie to speake unto you, nor to know you, nor to exhort you, nor to behold you. Being determined to send some into their Country, and to bring the rest with me shortly after, I see those who are to be dismissed, to cry out and mutiny, as well as those who I appoint to stay with me. What is the meaning of this? The cry is all alike everywhere, although the Cause is divers. I would fain know whether they complain that depart, or they that are to tarry?

When he had spoken those words, they cried all (as it had been with one mouth) *All, All, All.* Then he said;

Truly it cannot be so; nor can I be perswaded that you should all be grieved for the cause you declare, seeing it toucheth not the greatest part of you; for I have appointed more to depart, then to remain with me. There must needs be something of worse consequence then appeareth, that you should turn away from me. When was it ever seen, that a whole Army hath forsaken their King? The Slaves run not from their Masters all at once; but there is always a shame in some to leave him, when the rest forsake him. But why do I forget that you are desperately mad? why do I go about to cure those that are incurable? I condemn from henceforth all the good hope that ever I conceived of you, and am determined to deal no more with you as with my Soldiers (seeing you will not be mine) but as with men ungrateful, and unmindful of my goodness. The cause of this your madness is even the abundance of your prosperity, whereby you forget your old estate, from which you are delivered through my benefit. You are men worthy to haue spent your lives in your former beggery, seeing you can better bear your adversitie than prosperous fortune.

fortune. Behold, you who not long ago were Tributaries to the Illyrians and the Persians, do now disdain Asia, and the spoils of so many Nations : You, who under Philip did go half naked, do now contemn Robes of Gold and Purple. Your eyes cannot endure any longer to behold the light of Gold and Silver : You desire again your Wooden Dishes, your Targets made of Wicker, and your Swords covered with rust. I received you in this gallant condition, with five hundred Talents in debt, when all my Exchequer exceeded not the value of forty Talents. This was the Foundation of my Acts, where-with (without envy be it spoken) I have subdued the greatest part of the World. Are you weary of Asia, which hath ministered unto you occasion of so much Glory, that by the greatness of your Acts you are made equal unto the gods ? Do you all make such haste into Europe, to forsake me that am your King ? The greater part of you should have lacked Money to bear you home, if I had not paid your debts. Are you not ashamed, who have plundered all Asia, to carry the Spoils of so many Nations within your bellies only ? and to return home to your Wives and Children, not being able to shew any of the Rewards of your Victorie ? Many of ye in the way shall be compelled to pawn your Armour, if you forsake this good hope which you might receive at my hand. These are the goodly men of War that I shall want, who of all their Riches have nothing left them, but only their Concubines. The way lies open for your departure ; Get you gone out of my sight ; I, with the Persians, will defend your backs when you are gone : I will hold none of you : Deliver mine eyes, you ungrateful Country-men, of the sight of you. Shall your Parents and Children (I think you) receive you with joy,

when

when they shall see you return without your King? Shall they covet to meet such as are fugitives, and forsakers of their Prince? I shall truly triumph at your departure; and wheresoever you shall be, I shall desire to be revenged; honouring always, and preferring above you, those whom you have left here with me. Now you shall know of what force an Army is, that is destitute of a King; and what moment doth consist in me alone.

When he had spoken these words, he leaped in a fury from the Judgment-seat, and ran into the throng of the armed men, where he took with his own hands such as had mutined most against him; of whom there being not any that durst make resistance, he delivered thirteen to his Guard to be safely kept. Who would have thought that an Assembly, who a little before had spoken unto their Prince with such audacity and rigour, could have been so suddenly appalled with fear; and seeing their Companions led to execution, durst none of them make the least attempt to oppose him? But the inordinate liberty they used before, and seditious violence, was then so staid, that not one of them durst resist the King, running amongst them, but were all astonished for fear, and stood like men amazed with doubtful imaginations, looking what he would determine of themselves. Whether it were the reverence they bare to his Name, because the Nations that live under Kings are accustomed to honour them as gods; or whether it were the Majesty of his Person, or else his own assured Constancy, executing his Authority with such violence, that did put them in such fear: but they shewed a notable example of Patience; for they not only not stirred

at the execution of their Companions, whom they knew to be put to death in the night-time; but were more diligent in performing their duties than they were before, pretermittting nothing pertaining to obedience, and the natural affection towards their Prince: For on the next day they came to the Court, and being not suffered to enter, but all shut out saving the Souldiers of *Asia*, they made a sorrowful cry and lamentation, which spread over all the Camp, protesting, *That they would not live, if the King continued still in his wrath.* But he that was obstinate in all things which he had once conceived in his head, having commanded the *Macedons* to keep still in their Camp, did assemble the strange Souldiers together; to whom, by an Interpreter, he made this Oration.

At what time I came first out of Europe into Asia, my trust was to bring many noble Nations and a great power of Men under my Empire and Dominion, wherein I was not deceived: For besides that Fame reported you to be the men of Valour, I have found in you one thing more, which is an incomparable Obedience, Fidelity, and Affection towards their Prince. I thought Voluptuousness had overflown all Virtues amongst you, and that through your great felicitie you had been drowned in Pleasures: But I finde otherwise, and perceive that none do observe the Discipline and Order of the Wars better than you, nor execute the same with more activity and resolution; and being manful and valiant men, they embrace Fidelitie as well as Fortitude. This I do but now confess, but I knew it long ago: which was the cause that I chose you out of the Youths of so many Nations, to be my Souldiers, and did incorporate you amongt

amongst mine own People, causing you to wear the same Armour; but your Obedience towards Authoritie appeareth much better in you, than in them: Therefore I have joyned to my self in Marriage the Daughter of Oxares, who is a Persian, not disdaining to beget Children upon a Captive: And afterwards desiring abundantly to increase the Issue of my body, I took to Wife the Daughter of Darius, and was the Author that my near Friends should beget Children upon their Captives; minding by this holy Covenant to exclude the difference between the Conquerour and the Conquered. Wherefore you must now think, that you are not Soul-diers by me adopted, but more natural; and that Asia and Europe is one Kingdom, without any difference. I have given unto you Armour after the manner of the Macedons: I have brought all strangeness and novelty into a custom; and now you are both my Country-men and my Soul-diers; in all things receiving one form and fashion. I have not thought it unseemly for the Persians to shadow the Customs of the Macedons, nor for the Macedons to counterfeit the Persians, seeing they all ought to be under one Law and Custom, who should live under one King.

When he had made this Oration, he committed the custody of his Person unto the Persians; he made them of his Guard, and his Officers of Justice, by whom when those Macedons who had given the occasion of this Sedition were led bound unto Execution, one of them who was more ancient, and of greater estimation than the rest, spake after this manner:

How long will you give place unto your will, in executing us after this strange manner? Your Soul-diers and

and your own Country-men are drawn to Execution by their own Prisoners, before their cause is heard. If you have judged us worthy of death, at leastwise change the Ministers of your wrath.

This was a good admonishment, if he had been patient to hear the truth; but his wrath was grown into a fury, so that when he saw those who had the charge of them to stay a little, as willing to respite the Execution, he caused the Prisoners to be tumbled into the River, and there drowned. Notwithstanding the cruelty of this punishment, the Soldiers were not moved to any sedition, but repaired in great numbers to their Captains, and unto such as were near about the King, requiring, *That if there yet remained any infected with the same Offence, that he should command them to be put to death; proffering their bodies to be punished, and executed at his own will.*

After it was known that the dignity of being the Kings Lieutenant was given unto the Persians, and that they were distributed into divers Orders, with such names given unto them as were unto the Macedons, and that the Macedons were rejected with reproach; they could not then longer contain themselves, nor the dolour they had concived in their hearts; but with a great throng pressed to the Court, wearing only their nethermost Garments, and leaving their Weapons without the Gate, in token of repentance: there with weeping, and all tokens of humility, they made request to be admitted to the Kings presence, beseeching that he would vouchsafe to pardon their Offence, and to pacifie his wrath with the death of so many of them as he should

should think good, rather than to suffer them to live in such a reproach; which except he would release, they protested they would never depart out of the place. When these things were declared unto *Alexander*, he caused the Court-gates to be opened, and came forth amongst them; where beholding their lamentation and repentance, and the posture of their miserable affliction, he could not abstain to weep a long time with them, and in consideration of their modesty, forgave them their former offences; and after he had moderately told them their faults, and again comforted them with gentle words, he discharged many from the Service of the Wars, and sent them home magnificently rewarded, writing to *Antipater* his Lieutenant in *Macedonia*, that he should assigne them the chief places in the Theatres at Triumphs and publick Shews, where they should sit with Garlands on their heads, willing, that their Children after their deaths should enjoy their Fathers Pay. He appointed *Craterus* to be their Ruler, to whom also in the place of *Antipater* he had committed the Government of *Macedonia*, *Beſſalia*, and *Thracia*, *Antipater* being sent for to repair unto him with a supply of young Souldiers.

Alexander had received Letters before, both from him and *Olympias* his Mother, by which there appeared to be ſome discontents between them: For his Mother accused *Antipater* that he went about to make himself King; and *Antipater* did write how *Olympias* did many things otherwise than did become her. *Antipater* did take his calling away ſo grievously to heart, that he conſpired therupon to poynſon *Alexander*, who having accomplished what he

he resolved to have done, advanced to *Ecbatana* in *Media*, to set in order the necessary Affairs of his Empire, and there ordained solemn Triumphs and Feastings.

It chanced that *Ephestion*, whom the King entirely loved, and used in the place of a Brother, did die at the same time of a Fever; whose death *Alexander* took more heavily than may well be credited, committing in his grief many things that were unbecoming the Majesty of a Prince: He commanded *Ephestions* Physician to be hanged, as though he had died through his negligence. He lay imbracing of the dead body, and could hardly be taken away by his Friends, but continued his sorrow night and day.

There are many other things written on this Subject, which are scarcely credible; but it is certain, that he commanded Sacrifice to be made unto him, as to a god, and consumed in his Burial, and in making of his Tomb, above twelve thousand Talents. As he was returning to *Babylon*, the *Chaldean* Prophets met him on the way, exhorting him not to enter into the City; for it was signified, That if he went thither at that time, he should be in great peril of his life. Notwithstanding, he regarded not their Admonitions, but went forward in his Journey, according as he was appointed; for he understood that Embassadors were come thither from all Regions, and tarried for his coming: the terror of his name was so spread through the world, that all Nations shewed an obsequiousness towards him, as though he had been appointed to be their King: This caused him to make haste to *Babylon*, to keep

keep there as it were a Parliament of the whole World. When he was come thither, he received the Embassadours gently, and afterwards dismissed them home again.

There was about the same time a Banquet prepared at the house of one *Theffalus Medius*, whereunto the King (being invited) came with such as were appointed to keep him company: But he had no sooner drunk of *Hercules Cup*, but that he gave a deep groan, as though he had been struck to the heart; and being carried out of the Feast half dead, he was so tormented with pain, that he required a Sword to have killed himself. His Friends did publish abroad, that drunkenness was the cause of his disease; but in very deed it was prepared Treason, the infamy whereof, the Power of his Successors did oppress. The poyon prepared long before, was delivered by *Antipater* unto his Son *Cassandra*, who, with his brethren *Philip* and *Iolla*, were accustomed to serve the King at meat: he was warned that he should not commit the said Poysen to any Person, except it were to *Theffalus*, or to his own brothers *Philip* and *Iolla*, who were both accustomed to take the aslay of the Kings Cup; and having the poysen ready in cold water, mixed it with Wine, after they had tasted it. When the fourth day was come, the Souldiers, partly because they suspected he was dead, and partly because they could not endure to want long his sight, came sorrowfully unto the Court, desiring to see the King; who by his commandment were admitted unto his presence, by such as had the charge of his person.

When they beheld him lying in that estate, they
made

made great sorrow and lamentation, for he seemed not to them to be the same whom they were accustomed to behold, but rather a dead Corpse. If their grief were great, the sorrow of them who stood next to the Bed, appeared much greater; whom when *Alexander* beheld to lament after that sort, he said unto them:

When I shall depart, you shall finde a King worthy of such men as you are.

It is a thing incredible to speak, how that during the Souldiers of his whole Army came to visit him, he never altered his countenance nor gesture, but continued in that presence; which he gave unto the first, unto the last man. When he had dismissed the multitude, as though he had been discharged of all debt of life, he lay down to rest his weak body; and his voice beginning to fail him, he commanded his Friends to draw near unto him: then taking his Ring from his Finger, he delivered it to *Perdiccas*, and gave therewith a commandment that his Body should be conveyed to *Hannon*. They demanded to whom he would leave his Kingdom? he said, *To the worthiest*. By which words it appeared, that he foresaw the Contention that was like to ensue upon his death. *Perdiccas* moreover demanded of him, when he would have divine Honours done unto him. *At such time*, said he, *as you shall finde yourselves in Felicity*.

These were the last words *Alexander* spake, and shortly after he died. Immediately after his death, the Court was full of howling and lamenting, and by and by, as it had been in a desert place, all things were hush, and a sorrowful silence was spread over

all grief being converted into imagination, what the event should be. The young men of the Nobility that were accustomed about the Kings person, could not bear the greatness of their dojour, nor keep themselves within the compass of the Court, but ran about as men out of their wits, whereby their City was filled with sighs and tears, and no kinde of lamentation pretermitted, that sorrow is accustomed to administer in such a case: Such therefore as were without the Court, as well *Macedons* as others, came running thither, where the Conquerours from the conquered could not be discerned, so equal and mutual was their sorrow.

The *Perſians* called upon their just and merciful Lord, and the *Macedons* made invocation unto him that was so just and gracious a King; and thus there was a certain contention among them. They did not only use the words of grief and heaviness, but also of murmuring and indignation, that so young a Prince, being in the flower of his age, and so fortunate in success, should by the envy of the gods be so taken out of this world. They called to remembrance what a chearfulness they had always seen in his countenance, both when he led them to the Battel, or when he besieged or assaulted any City, or when he would give any commendation to the Valiant in any Assembly.

Then the *Macedons* repented that ever they had denied him divine honour, confessing themselves both wicked and ungrateful in depriving him of any name whereof he was worthy. And when they had continued long in the veneration and desire of him that was dead, they began to lament their own condition,

who

who coming out of *Macedon*, were beyond the River *Euphrates*, amongst the middest of their Enemies, who unwillingly received their new Government. They saw themselves left destitute, and the Empire without any certain Heir; for want of whom every one would go about to draw the Power of the State into his own private interest. Then they began to conceive and foresee the Civil Wars that did ensue, and that they should be inforced to shed their bloud again, not for the Conquest of *Asia*, but for the Title of some such a one as would go about to make himself King. Moreover, that such who by reason of their age had been discharged from the Wars by their noble and righteous King, should now be inforced to spend their lives in the quarrel of one who was but his Souldier.

Whiles they were in these imaginations, the night came on; and increased their terror: The men of War watched in their Arms, and the *Babylonians* looked over the Walls, peeping out from the tops of their houses, to discover some certainty how the Affairs passed. There was not one that durst kindle any light; and because the use of the eye did fail, they laid their ears to hear the rumour and words that were spoken; and many times they were afraid, when no cause of fear was; and when they met together in the narrow streets, or dark lanes, they would be amazed, and suspect each other as enemies. The *Persians* after their accustomed manner, cut short their hair, and with their Wives and Children lamented the death of *Alexander* in mourning Garments with unfeigned affection, not as a Conqueror, or one that lately had been their Enemy, but as

their right and natural King ; for they being accustomed to live under a King, could think no man more worthy then himself to rule over them.

This sorrow was not contained within the walls of the City, but straightways it spread over all the Country thereabouts. And the Fame of so great a mischief flying throughout *Asia*, brought early tidings thereof unto *Darius* Mother : She at the first report did tear asunder the garment she did wear, and putting on mourning apparel, she pulled her hair, and fell down groveling upon the earth. One of her Nieces sat by her mourning for the death of *Ephestion*, who not long before had married her, and in an universal heaviness bewailed the cause of her private sorrow : but *Sisigambis* alone sustained all their miseries, and bewailed both her own condition, and her Nieces, her fresh sorrow causing her to call to minde things past. A man would have judged by her behaviour, that *Darius* had been newly slain, or that she had now celebrated the Funerals of two Sons together : She did not only lament the dead, but sorrowed also for the living.

Who shall now (said she) take care of these young Women ? Or who can be like unto Alexander ? Now we are taken Prisoners again : We are newly fallen again from our Dignity and Estate. After Darius death we found one to defend us : but now since Alexander is gone, who will have respect unto us ?

Among these things, she called to minde how *Ochus* the cruel King had slain her Father, and four-score of her Brethren in one day ; and that of six Children born of her Body, there was but one of them left alive. She saw that Fortune had advanced

Darius,

Darius, and caused him to flourish for a time, to the intent she might end his life by greater cruelty: Finally, she was so overcome with sorrow, that she covered her head, turning her self from her Neece and Nephew that sate at her feet; and abstaining both from meat, and from beholding the light, she ended her life the fifth day after she was determined to die. This her death was a great argument of the clemency which *Alexander* had shew'd towards her, and of his justice towards all the Captives, seeing that after *Darius* death she could not endure to live; but after *Alexanders* departure, she was ashamed to continue any longer.

Consider *Alexander* justly, and we must impute all his Vertues to his own nature, and his Vices either to his youth, or to the greatness of his Fortune: there was in him an incredible force of Courage, and an exceeding sufferance of Travel: he was endued with manhood, excelling not only Kings, but also such as had no other vertue or quality: he was of such liberality, that oftentimes he gave greater things than the Receivers would have wished for of God. The multitude of Kingdoms that he gave in Gift, and restored to such from whom he had taken them by force, was a token of his Clemency towards them whom he had subdued. He shewed a perpetual contempt of Death; the fear whereof doth amaze other men: And as there was in him a greater desire of Glory and worldly Praise than reason wou'd admit; so it was tolerable in so young a man, performing so great and wonderful Atchievemens. The reverence and affection he bare towards his Parents, appeared in the purpose he had to consecrate his Mo-

ther *Olympias* to immortality, and in that he so strictly revenged his Father *Philips* death. How gentle was he towards his Friends? and how benevolent towards his Souldiers? He had a wisdom equal to the greatness of his heart, and such a policy and foresight as so young years were scarcely able to receive. A measure he had in immoderate pleasures, and lustred less than Nature desired, using no pleasure but what was lawful: These indeed were wonderful great Gifts and Vertues; but in that he compared himself to the gods, coveting divine honours, and believing the Oracles that perswaded such things; that he was offended with them that would not worship him, and given more vehemently to wrath than was expedient; that he altered his habit and apparel into the fashion of strangers, and counterfeited the custom of those whom he had subdued and despised before his Victory, these were Vices to be attributed to the greatness of his fortune: As the heat of youth stirred him unto anger, and to the desire of Drinking, so age might have mitigated again those distempers. Notwithstanding it must needs be confessed, that though he prevailed much by his Virtue, yet ought he to impute more unto his Fortune, which only of all mortal men he had in his own power. How often did she deliver him from the point of Death? How did she protect him with perpetual Felicity, when he had rashly brought himself into peril? And when she had decreed an end to his glory, she even then was content to finish his life, staying his fatal destiny until he had subdued the Orient, visited the Ocean, and fulfilled all that mans mortality was able to perform,

To this so great a King, and so noble a Conqueror, a Successor was wanting; and it was a task of too great an importance for any one man to take it upon him: his Name and Renown was so great amongst all Nations, that they were counted most noble, who could be partakers (though it were never so little) of his prosperous Fortune. But to return again to Babylon, from whence this digression hath been made.

They who had the Guard and Custody of *Alexanders* person, called into the Court such as had been his chief Friends, and Captainis of the men of War, after whom there follow'd a great multitude of Souldiers, desiring to know who should be Successor unto *Alexander*. The throng of the Souldiers was such, that many of th: Captains were excluded, and could not enter into the Court. A Proclamation therefore was made, whereby all men were forbidden to enter, except such as were called by name: But because their commandment seemed to want authority, it was but little regarded, and the multitude at first began to make a doleful cry and lamentation; But immediately the desire they had to understand the event, stopped their lamentation, and procured silence. Then *Perdiccas* brought forth in sight of all the people, the Kings Chair or Estate, wherein *Alexanders* Diadem, his Royal Habiliments, and his Armour was laid; amongst which Ornaments *Perdiccas* also laid down the Kings Signet, delivered to him the day before; at the sight whereof they began to weep, and to renew again their sorrow. Then said *Perdiccas*:

Lo, here is the Ring wherewith he was accustomed to Seal such things as pertained to the Government of his

Empire, which as he delivered to me, I so restore it again to you: And though no affliction can be devised by the gods (were they never so much offended) comparable to this; yet considering the greatness of the Acts which he hath done, we must think that as the gods sent such a man so to reign in the world, (his time being expired that was appointed) they have called him back again to the place from whence he came: Forasmuch therefore as nothing more of him remaineth capable of immortality, let us perform the Rites pertaining to his Body, rememb'ring in what City we are, amongst what kinde of people, and what a King and Governeur we have lost. We must consider and consult how to maintain our Conquest amongst those men over whom it is gotten; for the doing whereof, it is needful for us to have a Head; but whether the same shall be one or many, it doth consist in you. You are not ignorant that a multitude of men of War is a Body without life. Six months are now passed, since Roxane was conceived with childe; we desire of the gods that she may bring forth a Son, which may enjoy this Kingdom when he cometh to Age: In the mean season appoint you by whom you will be governed.

When Perdiccas had spoken these words, Nearchus rose up, and said:

There is no man can deny but that it were requisite that the Succession should continue in the Blood Royal; but to look for a King that is not yet born, and to pass over one that is born already is not expedient for such men as the Macedons are, nor yet doth serve the necessity of the time. There is a Son whom Alexander begot on Barsine, what should hinder why the Diadem may not be set upon his Head?

Nearchus discourse was acceptable to no man; therefore

therefore the Souldiers, according to their custom, clashed their Spears against their Targets, and continued making a noise : And when he would not forsake his opinion, but obstinately maintained the same, it had almost bred a sedition; which being perceived by Ptolomy, he spake after this manner :

Neither the Son of Roxane, nor of Barsines, is an Issue meet to reign over the Macedons, whose names we should be ashamed to mention within Europe, their mothers being Captives. Have we subdued the Persians to that end, to become subject to such as are descended of them? That was it which Darius and Xerxes, being Kings of Persia, did labour for in vain, with so many millions of men of War, and with so many Navies. This therefore is my opinion, that Alexanders Chair of Estate be set in the middest of his Court, and that all such as were accustomed to be of Counsel with him, assemble together, so often as any busines requireth to be consulted on, and that the Captains and Rulers of the Army be obedient to that Order wherunto the greatest number do assent.

There were some agreed with Ptolomy, but few with Perdiccas. Then Aristonius spake in this manner :

When Alexander was demanded to whom he would leave his Kingdom, he willed the worthiest to be chosen : Whom judged be worthy but Perdiccas, to whom he delivered his Ring? This was not done at such a time as he was alone, but when all his Friends were present he did cast his eyes amongst them, and at length chose out one to whom he delivered it. For this cause I think it right, that the Kingdome be committed to Perdiccas.

Many agreed to his opinion, so that the Assembly cried out to Perdiccas, that he should come forth amongst

amongst them, and take up the Kings Signet : But he stayed between ambition and modesty, thinking the more modesty he used in the obtaining the thing he so much desired, they would be so much the more earnest to proffer it to him. When he had stood a good while at a stay, doubting what to do, at length he drew back, and stood behinde them who sate next to him. When Meleager, who was one of the Captains, saw the stay that Perdiccas made, he took courage on his seeming unwillingness, and said :

Neither the gods will permit, nor men will suffer, that Alexanders Fortune, and the weight of so great an Empire should rest upon his shoulders : I will not re-bearse that there are many present more noble than he is, and of greater worth, without whose consent no such thing may be suffered to be done. There is no difference whether you make Perdiccas King, or the son of Roxane, whensoever he shall be born : Perdiccas goeth about to make himself King, under pretence to be Gover-nour to the Infant ; this is the cause why no King can please him, but such as is not yet born. And in so great a haste as all we make to have a King, (which haste is both just and necessary for the preservation of our estate,) he only doth wait for the expiring of times and months, imagining that she should bring forth a man-childe, which I think you doubt not but he is already prepared to counterfeit and exchange, if need be. If it were so in very deed that Alexander had appointed him to be our King, I am of opinion that the same thing only (of all the things he had commanded) ought not to be observed or performed. Why do not you run rather to seize upon the Treasure, seeing the people ought to inherit it ?

When he had spoken those words, he brake tho-

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saw the press of armed men ; and they who gave way to him, followed him to the spoil, whereof he made mention. The greediness of the Treasure caused a great Band of armed men to flock about Meleager ; and the Assembly began to fall into sedition, which had grown to a greater inconvenience , if a mean Souldier (whom very few did know) had not stepped forth, and spoken to the multitude.

What need we (said he) grow into a Civil War seeing we have a King already, whom y^e seek to finde ? the same is Arideus the Son of Philip, and brother to Alexander, who lately was our King, born and brought up with him in the same Religion and Ceremonies that we do use, who being the only Heir, I marvel by what undesert of his he is neglected ? or what hath he done, why he shouldest not enjoy his right descended unto him by the universal law of the world ? If you seek one to be compared to Alexander, you shall never finde him : If you will have such a one as shalbe next unto Alexander, this is only he.

When these words were heard amongst the multitude, they kept silence at the first, as if they had been commanded by Authority ; but afterwards they cried with one voice, that *Arideus* should be called, and that they were worthy of death who made the Assembly without him. Then *Python* being bedewed with tears, began to speak.

Now I perceive (said he) Alexanders case to be most miserable , seeing he is defrauded of the fruit, which such as were his Souldiers and Subjects should bring forth at such a time as this is : For looking only on the Name and Memory of your King, you are utterly blinde in other things.

His words tended directly to the reproof of *Aridew*, that was his elected King ; but his Speech procured more hatred to the Speaker, than contempt to the young man against whom it was intended : For the compassion they had of *Aridew*, caused them the more to favour his Cause ; and therefore they declared with a general Acclamation, *That they would not suffer any to reign over them, but him only who was born to so great a hope ; and still they call'd for Arideus to come forth amongst them.* Whereupon *Meleager* (for the malice and envy he bare unto *Perdiccas*) took an occasion boldly to bring him into the Assembly, whom the multitude saluted as King, and called him *Philip*.

This was the voice of the people ; but the Nobility were of another minde, amongst whom, *Python* took upon him to put *Perdiccas* Plot in execution, and appointed *Perdiccas* and *Leonatus* (descended both of the Blood-Royal) to be Governours of the Son which should be born of *Roxane* : Adding moreover, that *Craterus* and *Antipater* should have the Rule within *Europe* ; and upon this, they sware the Souldiers to be obedient to *Alexanders* Issue. *Meleager* then doubting, not without cause, that some evil might come unto him, departed with such of his Faction, but he returned immediately again, bringing *Philip* with him into the Court, and cried out to the multitude for the assiting of the Commonwealth, *in aiding of the new King, whom a little before they bid Elected, and willed them to make an experience of his Abilities, persuading them that he was the fittest to Rule over them, being the Issue of Philip, and both both a King to his Father, and a King to his Brother.*

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There is no profound Sea so stormy nor tempestuous, or that raiseth up so many surges and waves, as a Multitude doth motions and alterations, when they swell with the hopes of a new Liberty, not likely long to continue. There wanted not some who gave their consent to *Perdiccas*; but more agreed to make *Philip* King: They could neither agree nor disagree a long time together; one while repenting them of their Counsel, and immediately again repenting them of the repentance. Yet finally, they were inclined to prefer the Kings Bloud.

Aridens was put in such fear with the Authority of the Nobility, that he departed out of the Assembly; after whose departure, the favour of the Souldiers was rather silenced than diminished towards him: so that at length he was called again, and his Brothers Royal Habiliments which lay in the Chair were put upon him, and *Meleager* put on his Corflet, following as a defence to the Person of the new King. The *Pbalanx* clashed their Spears to their Targets, threatening to shed his bloud, who went about to take the Kingdom that pertained not unto him. They rejoiced that the strength of the Empire should not be divided, but still continue in the same Bloud and Family; the right of whole Title by Inheritance, coming of the same Bloud-Royal, they shewed themselves ready to defend. For by reason they were accustomed to have the Name of their King in such honour and veneration, they thought no man worthy of it, but such a one who by descent was born to reign. *Perdiccas* therefore was afraid, and with six hundred men that were of an approved manhood, took upon him to defend the place where

where the body of *Alexander* lay. *Ptolemy* joyned himself unto him also, and the Band of the young Gentlemen that were about the Kings Person : but so many thousands of armed men as were on the other side, did easily break in upon them ; amongst whom *Arides* was present, with a great Band for the guard for his Person, whereof *Meleager* was chief. *Perdiccas* therefore in great fury called such to his guard as would defend *Alexanders* Body ; but many of them were sore hurt with Darts that came from the contrary side.

At last the ancient men plucked off their Head-pieces (the better to be known) and desired them who were with *Perdiccas* to abstain from Civil War, and give place to the King, and to the greater part. Whereupon *Perdiccas* was the first that laid down his Weapon, and the rest did in like manner. *Meleager* then perswaded them that they should not depart, but remain still about the dead Corpse : But *Perdiccas* judging it to be a deceit contrived to entrap him, drew back to the side of *Euphrates*, lying on the furthest part of the Court. Then the Horsemen, which consisted chiefly of the Nobility, stoked about *Perdiccas* and *Leonatus*, whose opinion was to depart out of the City, and to take the Field ; but because *Perdiccas* was not without hope that the Footmen would have taken his part, he therefore remained still within the City, lest he might seem to be the cause that the Horsemen should divide themselves from the rest of the Army. *Meleager* ceased not to beat into the Kings head, That he could not establish himself surely in his Throne, but by the death of *Perdiccas*, whose ambitious mind,

and desire of Innovation, was to be prevented in time. He willed the King to remember what *Perdiccas* had deserved at his hands, and that no man could be faithful to him whom he feared. The King rather suffering than assenting to his counsel, *Meleager* took his silence for a commandment, and sent for *Perdiccas* in the Kings name; they who were sent having Commission to kill him, if he should make any delay to come with them. *Perdiccas* hearing of their coming, accompanied only with sixteen young Gentlemen (accustomed to attend upon *Alexanders* Person) met them as they would have entred into his Lodging, and calling them *Meleagers Slaves*, rebuked them with such a constancy both of minde and countenance, that they returned back as men amazed. *Perdiccas* willed such as were in his company to keep on Horseback, and with a few of his Friends repaired unto *Leontine*, intending if any violence were moved against him, to repulse it with a greater force.

The next day the *Macedons* murmured, and thought it unjust that *Perdiccas* should be brought in danger of death; and theretore determined with force to revenge the rashness of *Meleagers* doings: But the understanding of the Mutiny that was among the Souldiers, gave place; and they repairid to the King, demanding of him, If he had commanded *Perdiccas* to be taken? He confessed the thing: but it was done (he said) by *Meleagers* instigation; for which they ought not to raise any tumult, seeing that *Perdiccas* was alive. The Assembly hereupon brake up, and *Meleager* became so greatly afraid, especially by the departing of the Horsemen, that he knew

knew not what to do ; for he saw the mischief which he a little before had intended against his Enemy, to light upon himself : and while he debated with himself on this , and on that , three whole days were consumed. Howsoever, the accustomed form and fashion of the Court did remain in the mean season ; for the Embassadors of divers Nations did address themselves unto the King, the Captains of the Army were present, and the Guard waited in Armour as they were accustomed : But the great sadness that was there, without any apparent cause , signified some extreme despair. There was such a suspicion amongst themselves, that men durst not converse one with another, but had secret imaginations by themselves ; and by comparing the time present with the time past, and the new King with the old, they began to desire the King that was gone. Then one enquired of another, What was become of the King , whose Fortune and Authority they had followed ? They found themselves abandoned amongst so many unquiet and unconquered Nations , who were desirous upon any occasion that might befall, to be revenged of the injuries they had received.

While they were troubled in these imaginations, word was brought , that the Horsemen (who were under *Perdiccas*) kept the Fields about *Babylon*, and stayed all Victuals from coming to the City : whereupon first began a scarcity, and afterwards a famine ; therefore such as were within the City thought good either to make a reconciliation with *Perdiccas*, or else to fight it out. It so chanced, that such as dwelled abroad in the Country , fearing the spoil of the Villages , repaired into the City ; and they within

within the City, for want of Victuals departed into the Country; so that every one thought themselves surer any where, than where their own Habitations were: Then the Macedons doubting so the great inconvenience that might proceed from this fear, assembled together in the Court, and declared their Opinions. It was agreed amongst them, that Embassadours should be sent to the Horsemen, for the surceasing of all strife and division. *Pasas*, a *Thessalian*, *Amissas* a *Megapolitan*, and *Perelias*, were sent from the King, who declaring their Commission, received answer, that the Horsemen would not lay down their Arms, till the Authors of that Sedition were delivered into their hands. When they were returned, and their answer known, the Souldiers, without any appointment, put on their Armour, and made such a Tumult, that the King was inforced to come forth of the Court, and said unto them:

If we shall be at strife among our selves, our Enemies that are at quiet shall enjoy the fruits of our Contention: Remember that the Quarrel is with your own Countrymen, with whom if you rashly break the hope of Reconcilement, you shall be the beginners of a Civil War: Let us prove if they may be mitigated by another Embassie: I am of belief, that because the Body of Alexander remaineth yet unburied, they will gladly come together to perform the Obsequies unto the Dead. And for my part, I had rather surrender up again this Dignity, than that any blood should be shed amongst my Country-men: for if no other hope of Concord doth remain, I desire and beseech you to make a better Choice.

Tears then falling from his eyes , he took the Diadem from his head , and holding the same forth with his hand , he was ready to have delivered it to any man who would profess himself to be more worthy then he . The moderation that he used , both in his words and behaviour , caused them all to conceive a great good hope of his Noble Nature , which till that time was obscured by the height of his Brothers Fame : They therefore encouraged and importuned him to go forwards as he had devised ; whereupon he sent again the same Embassadours that went before , who had Commission to desire that *Meleager* might be the third Ruler of the Men of War . That demand was not much stuck at ; for *Perdiccas* was desirous to remove *Meleager* from the King , and conceived that the King being alone , the King would not be able to match with *Leonatus* and himself .

Upon this *Meleager* marched out of the City with the Footmen , and *Perdiccas* met him in the Fields , riding before the Bands of the Horsemen : There both Battels saluting one another , Concord and Peace (as it was thought) was confirmed betwixt them for ever : But it was decreed that Civil Wars should arise amongst the *Macedons* ; for Government is impatient of Partners , and the Kingdom was covered by many : At first they gathered , and afterwards dispersed their Forces ; for when the Body was burthened with more Heads then it could bear , the other Members began to fail . So the Empire of the *Macedons* , which under one Head might well have stood , when it was divided into Parts , fell to ruine . For this cause the people of *Rome* justly mult

must confess themselves bound unto their Prince for the felicity they enjoy, who, as a Star in the night, appeared unto them that were almost lost: Surely it was not the rising of the Sun, but of him that gave light unto the world in darkness; for without such a Head, the Members that were at variance must needs have failed: How many Fire-brands did he quench? How many drawn Swords did he cause to be sheathed? How great a Tempest did he pacifie with the sudden calm of his presence? The Empire now doth wax verdant and flourishing; let me desire, without envy, that his house may continue many Ages, and his Posterity forever more.

But to return again to the order of the History, from whence I was brought through the contemplation of our Universal Felicity; *Perdiccas* judged the only hope of his own safeguard to consist in the death of *Meleager*, thinking it necessary to prevent him, being a man both variable, unfaithful, given to innovation, and besides his mortal Enemy: But with deep dissimulation he kept his purpose secret, to the intent, that with less difficulty he might oppress him unawares: He therefore did suborn privily certain of the Troops under his own Command, to complain openly (as though it were without his privity) that *Meleager* should be made equal with him in Authority; which words of the Soldiers when they reported unto *Meleager*, he became in a great rage, and declared them to *Perdiccas*, who seemed to wonder at it, and to be passionately sorry for it; and finally, they banded amongst themselves, that the Authors of such seditions words should be apprehended.

When *Meleager* perceived *Perdiccas* so conformable, he imbraced him, and gave him thanks for his fidelity and benevolence: then in a consultation betwixt them both, they devised how to destroy such as wrought this division betwixt them; for the bringing of which to pass, they agreed the Army should be purged according to their Country-custom: To the doing whereof they seemed to have a sufficient occasion, by reason of the late discord amongst them. The Kings of *Macedon*, in the lustration of their Army, were accustomed to use a kinde of Ceremony, dividing the bowels of a Dog into two parts, and to cast the same in the uttermost bounds of the field on which they intended to muster their Army: the Soldiers within those bounds were all to stand armed; the Horsemen, the Mercenary Souldiers, the *Pbakanz*, and every one apart. The same day that this Ceremony was put in execution, the King stood in order of Battel, with the Horsemen and the Elephants against the Footmen, of whom *Meleager* had the Rule.

When the Troops of Horsemen began to move, the Footmen were suddenly possessed with a great fear; and by reason of the late discord, conceived a suspicion, that the Horsemen did intend no good unto them: wherefore they stood a while in doubt, whether they should retire into the City or not, by reason that the fields served best for the Horsemen. At last they stood still, with a fix'd resolution to fight, if any should offer them violence. When the Battels were almost met, and only a small distance lese, (whereby the one part was divided from the other), the King, by the provocation of *Perdiccas*, with a Band of Horsemen did ride along by the Foot,

requiring

requiring the delivery of such to be executed as were the Authors of the Discord, whom in very deed he ought to have defended ; and threatned, if they refused their delivery, to bring against them both the Horsemen, and the Elephants. The Footmen were amazed with the suddenness of the mischief which they looked not for, and there was no more counsel nor courage in *Meleager*, then in the rest ; but they all judged it most expedient for them to abide the adventure of that request, and to expect rather then to provoke Fortune.

When *Perdiccas* saw them astonished, and in fear, he severed out to the number of three hundred of such who followed *Meleager* when he brake out of the Assembly that was first made after *Alexander's* death, who in the sight of the Army were cast to the Elephants, and there trampled to death with their feet; of which *Philip* was neither the Author nor the Forbidder, but thought to claim that for his own act, which shold appear best in the end. This was a signification, and a beginning unto the *Macedons*, of the Civil Wars that ensued. *Meleager* understanding over-late the deceipt of this fine Plot, because there was no violence offered unto his person, stood at first quietly within the *Phalanx*, but shortly after, when he saw his Enemies abusing to his destruction the Name of him whom he had made King, he despaired of his own safety, and fled into a Temple : But the Religion of the place could not so defend him, but that he was there slain. *Perdiccas* hereupon brought again the Army into the City ; and calling a Council of all the principal Personages, it was agreed so to divide the Empire, that

that the King should remain as Chief of the whole ; *Ptolemy* was to be Lieutenant in *Egypt* and *Africa*, and to have the Rule of the Nations there that were under the *Macedone* Dominion : *Syria* and *Pheicia* were appointed to *Laomedon*; *Cilicia* to *Philetas*; *Lycia*, with *Pamphylia*, and the greater *Pbrygia*, were assigned to *Antigonus*; *Cassander* was sent into *Caria*, and *Menander* into *Lydia*; the les *Pbrygia*, that joyneth unto *Hellespont*, was *Leonatus* Province; *Eumenes* had *Cappadocia* and *Paphlagonia*, who was commanded also to defend that Country so far as *Trapezunt*, and make War with *Arbates*, who only remained an Enemy to the Empire : *Media* was appointed *Python*, and *Thracia* to *Lysimachus*, with other Nations thereabouts, bordering upon the Sea of *Pontus*. It was ordained also, that such as should be the Governours over the *Indians*, *Baltrians*, *Sogdians*, and the other Nations lying upon the Ocean and Red Seas, should, in matter of Justice, use Regal Jurisdiction. It was decreed, that *Perdiccas* should remain with the King, and have the Governance of the Men of War that followed him. Some believe that these Provinces were thus distributed by *Alexanders* Testament, but we have found the same to be false, though some Authors do affirm it.

The Empire being thus divided into parts, every one might well have defended his proportion, if any bounds could contain mens immoderate desires ; for they who before were but servants to a King, did not long after, under a specious colour, invade one anothers Kingdoms, being all of one Nation, and having certain bounds to their Dominions allotted to them : But it is hard for men to be contented with that

that they have in possession, when occasion is proffered them of more; for the first things always appear of no value, when men are in hope of greater things to come; so that every one of them thought it an easier matter to increase his Kingdom, than it was at the first to get it. *Alexanders Body*, in the mean season, lay seven days unburied; for whiles every man had care for the establishing of the State, their mindes were drawn from the performing of the Solemn Office to the Dead. There is no Country more fervent in heat then *Mesopotamia*; for the Sun there burneth so hot, that it killeth the Beasts that are without covert, and burneth up all things as it were with fire: And to the increase thereof, there are but few Springs of water, and the Inhabitants use such policy in hiding of those they have, that Strangers can have no use of them.

Notwithstanding this, when *Alexanders Friends* had the leisure to take care of the dead Body, and came to visit the same, they found it without infection, corruption, or change of colour; the same cheerfulness of spirit which he had alive, being not yet departed out of his countenance. Then the *Egyptians* and the *Caldeans* were commanded to imbalm his Body after their manner; who at the first (as though he had been alive) shewed a fear to put their hands to him; but afterwards making their prayers that it might be lawful for mortal men to touch him, they purged his body, and filled it with sweet Oours, and afterwards laid him upon a Heire of Gold, and set a Diadem upon his head. It is recorded that he died of Poyson, and that *Iola, Antipatres Son*, being one of his Ministers, had given him the same.

same. Alexander oftentimes would say, That Antipater coveted the Estate of a King, affecting more greatness then pertained to a Lieutenant; and that through the glory of the Victory he had gotten of the Lacedemonians, was become so proud, that he claimed all things committed to him as his own. It is thought also, that Craterus was sent to kill him, with those old Souldiers that were dismissed.

It is certain that there is a Poyson in Macedonia, found in a water called *Styges*, of such force, that it consumeth Iron, and will not be contained in any thing except in the Hoof of a Horse, or Mule; which Poyson was brought by Cassander, and delivered to his Brother *Iolla*, who presented it in the drink which the King last drank. However these things are reported, the power of them of whom the rumour was spread, shortly after oppressed the infamy thereof: for Antipater became King both of Macedonia and Greece, who afterwards took away by death the Kings Off-spring, all being slain who had any Alliance to him, although in the most removed Consanguinity. Ptolomy (who had the Rule of Egypt) conveyed Alexanders Body to Memphis, which within few years after was removed to Alexandria, where all Honour is given to his Memory and his Name.

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